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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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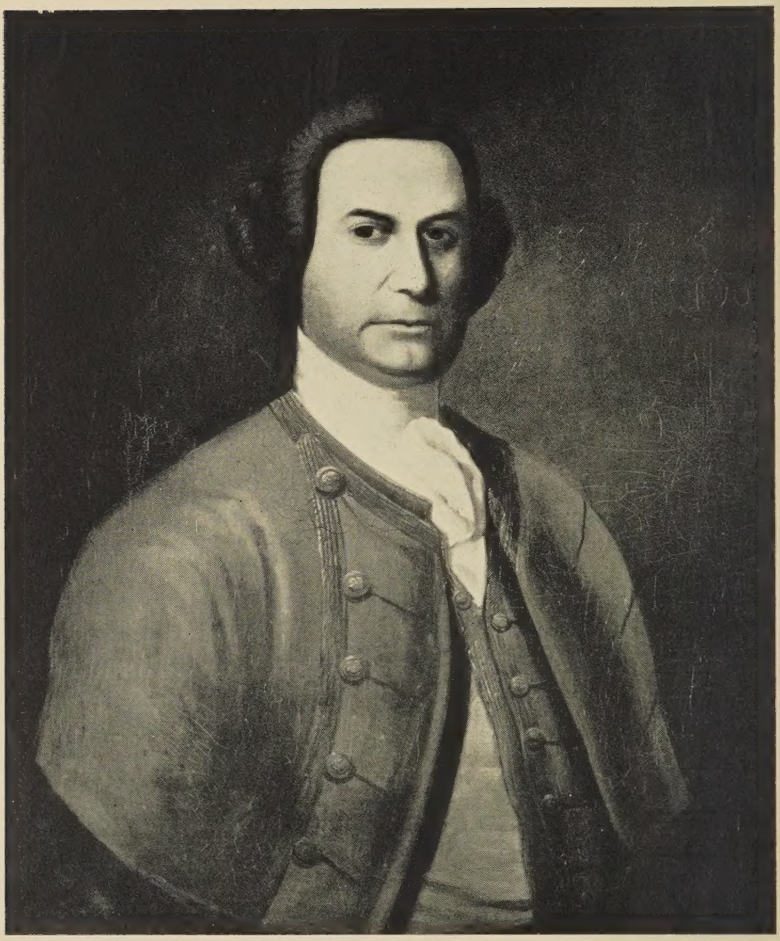

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON (1715–1774)

Copy by an unidentified artist, *c.* 1840, after the lost original by Thomas McIlworth at Johnson Hall, May 1763

Gift of Edward F. DeLancey, 1896

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THOMAS McILWORTH

(active 1758 to *c.* 1769)

IDENTIFIED BY WILLIAM SAWITZKY AND KATHARINE HASTINGS
AS THE
PAINTER OF THE GERARDUS STUYVESANT GROUP OF PORTRAITS
REDISCOVERED AND ASSEMBLED BY WILLIAM SAWITZKY, 1929–1944

A Fore-Statement by SUSAN SAWITZKY
with a Portion of William Sawitzky's Monograph on McIlworth

THE IDENTIFICATION of Thomas McIlworth as the painter of the group of 18th-century New York portraits, basically represented by those of Gerardus (1690–1777) and Nicholas William Stuyvesant (1722–1780) in the possession of The New-York Historical Society, was the result of research along distinct but converging paths by William Sawitzky and Katharine (Mrs. Russell) Hastings (now of Santa Barbara, California). Mrs. Hastings's important share in the reëstablishment of the connection between the artist and his work has, therefore,

been fully and gratefully acknowledged by William Sawitzky in his forthcoming monograph on the Portraits and Life of Thomas McIlworth, which will be published by The New-York Historical Society as one of the volumes left by him in a nearly, or partially, completed manuscript form, and which, at his request, will be finished and edited by his wife, Susan Sawitzky.

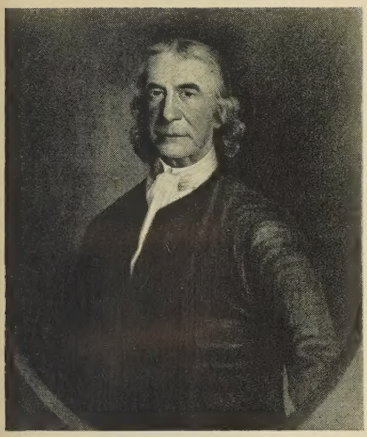
William Sawitzky, who felt that his contribution to the knowledge of early American painting must always be, primarily, that of the rediscovery, identification, grouping, and isolation of an artist's work[1]—with the incidental bringing to life of the creative personality which this work expressed—rather than the unearthing of the artist's name, or the facts of his life, should these be wanting: placed together, for the first time, in the year 1929, five portraits owned by The New-York Historical Society, which, in his opinion, were by an identical hand, and added to these the unlocated original of a copy owned by the Society, which fortunately preserved the telling mannerisms of the same painter. Around this nucleus he had assembled, by January 1942, about 18 more, and before his death the number had reached 29.

Though he continued to refer to this painter, for want of conclusive corroborative evidence concerning his identity, as the "Unidentified" or "Anonymous New York Artist of the 1750's and '60's" or as the "Painter of the Gerardus–Nicholas William Stuyvesant Group" or "Series," he soon came to believe him to be, on the basis of place and time,—but had not verified this belief—one Thomas McIlworth who, according to two well-known advertisements,[2] began to paint in New York City in 1758.

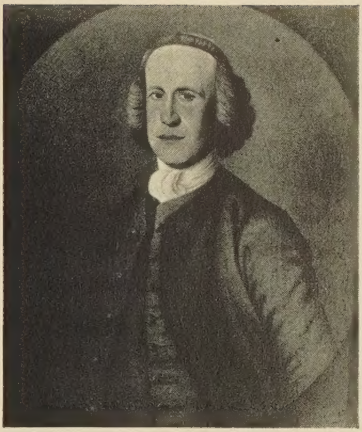
In his discussion of these portraits in one of a series of illustrated

[1] As one of the pioneer students of early American painting, William Sawitzky is recognized by his colleagues as having played a major part in setting in order this once-confused field. In his immense work of attribution and reattribution in historical societies, museums, and private homes throughout the Eastern Seaboard States, he not only clarified the work of the better-known artists but incidentally recovered from complete, or all but complete, oblivion the works of the following, and other, painters: William Williams, Benjamin West (early work), Matthew Pratt, Thomas McIlworth, John Durand, and Reuben Moulthrop.

[2] William Kelby, *Notes on American Artists* (NYHS: 1922), p. 4; Rita Susswein Gottesman, *The Arts and Crafts in New York* (NYHS: 1938), p. 6.



GERARDUS STUYVESANT (1690–1777)
By Thomas McIlworth, *c.* 1758–62
Gift of Robert Van R. Stuyvesant, his great-great-grandson, 1905



NICHOLAS WILLIAM STUYVESANT
By Thomas McIlworth, *c.* 1758–62
Gift of Robert Van R. Stuyvesant, his great-grandnephew, 1905

lectures[3] given at The New-York Historical Society in January 1942, before a class of graduate students of New York University, as well as many outside scholars and museum officials interested in the subject of early American painting, William Sawitzky made the statement that a group of about 20 portraits identified by him as by one hand,[4] represented at the Society by

[3] William Sawitzky became in 1940 Advisory Curator of American Art at The New-York Historical Society, and a Lecturer on Fine Arts, New York University, with the assistance of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

[4] A pencil-written memorandum in William Sawitzky's handwriting, gives the dates of his first examination and attribution to a single artist of some of the portraits of the Gerardus Stuyvesant group early identified by him. This memorandum reads:

"*N.Y. Histor.*
Gerardus Stuyvesant
Nicholas Wm. "
Lewis Morris
William Walton
Mrs. Philip Schuyler
———
Sir Wm. Johnson (copy)
} 1929

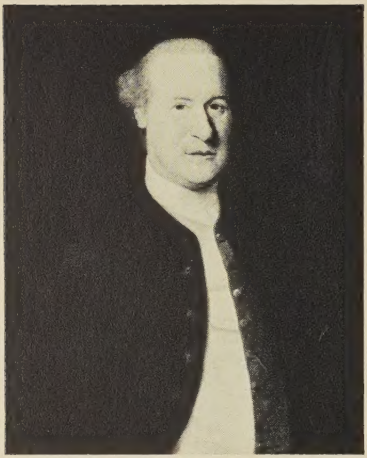
Auction Sale
Daniel Campbell
Mrs " "
} 1930

Dealer
Mrs. Robert R. Livingston—1930 or 31

Long Island Hist S–ty
Philip Livingston—1932

Miss Carmalt
Rev. Samuel Johnson
Dr. Wm. Sam. "
Mrs. " "
} 1935

City Museum
Mrs. Abraham Lott, Jr.—1936"



WILLIAM WALTON (1731–1796)
By Thomas McIlworth, *c.* 1758–62
Gift of Dr. William Walton Verplanck, the subject's grandson, c. 1885

MRS. PHILIP SCHUYLER (1734–1803)
By Thomas McIlworth, *c.* 1762–67
Bequest of Major Philip Schuyler, her great-grandson, 1915

those of the two Stuyvesants, father and son, and by three other examples: Lewis Morris (1698–1762), William Walton (1731–1796), and Mrs. Philip Schuyler (Catherine Van Rensselaer) (1734–1803)—the latter formerly attributed to Lawrence Kilburn or Kilbrunn by John Hill Morgan[5]—might well have been painted by Thomas McIlworth, whose advertisements appeared in the *New York Mercury*, and the *New-York Gazette and the Weekly Post-Boy* at, or shortly before, the time when the subjects, according to their ages and costumes, sat for the taking of their likenesses.

Mrs. Russell Hastings was, in the winter of 1941 and '42, an auditor of William Sawitzky's series of lectures, and this frank statement as to the probable authorship of a number of segregated but still anonymously painted portraits, quickly convinced her that certain references to the artist Thomas McIlworth collected by her in her reading of the still unindexed Sir William Johnson

[5] John Hill Morgan, *Early American Painters* (NYHS: 1921), p. 42.

Papers,[6] and from other sources, published and unpublished—but whose probable work had, until this lecture, remained unknown to her—might, in great likelihood, bear out William Sawitzky's conjecture. These references[7] she presented, with the utmost generosity and fairness, to William Sawitzky, who on comparing them, and others which they brought to light, with his own attributions, found the mutual verification of attribution and documentary fact so convincing, and so overwhelmingly consistent, that he felt the two lines of research (Mrs. Hastings's, documentary and biographical; his own, artistically and scientifically critical, and based almost entirely on the evidence within the portraits themselves) had sufficiently established the identity of Thomas McIlworth as the painter of the series of portraits represented by those of the Stuyvesants, Morris, Walton, and Mrs. Schuyler in The New-York Historical Society's collections.

Among William Sawitzky's attributions to the Stuyvesant group, two of the most vitally important portraits were known to him only through obviously good copies, which, having caught the essential characteristics of the artist, established the then-unlocated originals as, in his opinion, by the Anonymous New York Painter of the 1750's and '60's.

One of these portraits, mentioned in a foregoing paragraph, that of Sir William Johnson (1715–1774), famous Superintendent of Indian Affairs and mediator between the Six Nations and the encroaching white land speculator and settler, was recognized and identified by William Sawitzky through a vigorous and apparently faithful copy, presented to The New-York Historical Society in 1896, which had been painted *c.* 1840, at the request

[6] *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, prepared for publication by the Division of Archives and History, University of the State of New York (Albany, N.Y.: 1921–1939). These manuscripts, of which nine volumes have appeared, are still in the process of publication, and are as yet unindexed.

[7] Mrs. Hastings gave the following clues and references to William Sawitzky: McIlworth's wife was related to Westchester Willetts and Mosemans. By her he had Thomas Moseman (Loyalist) and Anna McIlworth. See published wills: Isaac Willett, 1770; Margaret Willett, 1776; Nathaniel Underhill, 1783. Member St. Andrew's Society in 1757: see Dr. McBean's MS notes. Sir William Johnson Papers, Vol. IV, p. 662; Vol. V, pp. 400, 746, 831.

of Johnson's biographer, Colonel William L. Stone, from a life portrait said to have been in the possession of a descendant in England.[8]

The second portrait thus identified by William Sawitzky as belonging to this group, by means of a copy alone, was of Robert Livingston (1708–1790), third Lord of the Manor, the original of which was never seen by him. This copy, owned by Mrs. John Henry Livingston of "Clermont," Tivoli-on-Hudson, New York, was made in 1908 by Charles M. A. Lang. Here again, certain characteristic idiosyncrasies retained in the copy were easily detected by William Sawitzky, in spite of the ambitious composition and dimensions of this three-quarter-length portrait, among the usually simple, and rather repetitive, bust and half-length portraits by the Unidentified New York Artist of the 1750's and 60's.

After his discovery of this copy by Lang, another and greatly inferior copy became known to him through a reproduction in a family genealogy: *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor,* by Edwin Brockholst Livingston (New York: 1910), opposite page 227; but of greater significance to William Sawitzky was another reproduction in this volume, opposite page 272, which informed him of the existence of what appeared to be again a copy of a possible companion portrait to the unlocated original of Robert Livingston: a three-quarter-length likeness of Maria (Thong) Livingston (1711–1765).

Of the thirteen references to Thomas McIlworth in the Sir William Johnson manuscripts,[9] several seemed unquestionably to establish William Sawitzky's conjecture as to this artist's authorship of the Gerardus Stuyvesant-type portraits, as well as to confirm the correctness of his identification of the two unlocated

[8] This portrait, for which William Sawitzky made a diligent search, seems to have mysteriously disappeared.

[9] Four of these references were sent to William Sawitzky by Katharine Hastings, while the rest were compiled for him by Susan Lyman of The New-York Historical Society, in, and by means of, the Johnson Calendar, and by actual further "digging" in the published but unindexed *Papers*.

originals of Sir William Johnson and Robert Livingston as belonging to this series, by showing the presence of the painter at Johnson Hall in the spring of 1763, and at Livingston Manor in November and December, 1764—dates consistent with the apparent ages of the sitters. Two of these references, in the form in which they now exist, are quoted as follows:

(1) The abstract of a letter, since destroyed by fire, from Witham Marsh at Schenectady, to Sir William Johnson, dated April 29, 1763, stating the "intention of Mr. McIlworth and himself to set out for fort" [Johnson Hall, the fortified homestead of Sir William, at Johnstown, New York] "on the following day in a wagon."[10]

(2) The abstract of a letter, since largely destroyed by fire, from John Duncan at Schenectady, to Sir William Johnson, dated December 18, 1764, mentioning, among other persons and items of news, "Mr Muckilworth [McIlworth] who is painting a portrait at Livingston Manor."[11]

The final corroboration of William Sawitzky's daring judgment formed through the medium of the Lang copy, and of his surmise, based on the reproduction of another copy, that portraits of the third Lord of Livingston Manor and his first wife had been painted by the Unidentified New York Artist of the 1750's and 60's, has only recently been made possible by the presentation (1950) to The New-York Historical Society of companion portraits of Robert and Maria (Thong) Livingston, of the type here under discussion.[12]

Can these two paintings, presented by Goodhue Livingston to the Society in 1950, be accepted as the direct work of the artist's hand, or are they again copies of unlocated originals?

[10] *Calendar of Sir William Johnson Manuscripts*, compiled by Richard E. Day (Albany: 1909), p. 168. (Among references assembled under direction of William Sawitzky by Susan Lyman, NYHS.) Other references in the Johnson correspondence corroborate the fact that this expressed intention was fulfilled; they will be cited in the forthcoming monograph.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 249. Quoted in *Sir William Johnson Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 622. (Reference sent to William Sawitzky by Katharine Hastings.) Another letter, cited in the monograph, places the painter at the Manor as early as November 18, 1764.

[12] Presented by Mr. Goodhue Livingston of New York City, to whom the portraits had been left by his cousin, Richard M. C. Livingston (1861–1945), great-great-grandson of the subjects. See The New-York Historical Society *Annual Report for the Year 1950* for an extended and interesting account of this gift.

MARIA (THONG) LIVINGSTON (1711–1765)

Wife of Robert Livingston, the Third Lord
By Thomas McIlworth at Livingston Manor,
Nov.–Dec. 1764

ROBERT LIVINGSTON (1708–1790)

Third Lord of the Manor of Livingston
By Thomas McIlworth at Livingston Manor,
Nov.–Dec. 1764

If they are original portraits, was William Sawitzky correct in his attribution of the one of Robert Livingston to the artist later identified as Thomas McIlworth and in his supposition that this companion piece might likewise be by the same hand?

The answer to these questions has now become the responsibility of Susan Sawitzky, who feels that a comparison of the portraits given by Mr. Livingston to the Society—especially the faces of the subjects—with examples of the Gerardus Stuyvesant group, simultaneously confirms, not only the fact that these paintings are the fresh and vital originals from which the beforementioned copies were made, but the correctness of William Sawitzky's attribution of both portraits to this group, later jointly established by him and Mrs. Hastings as the work of Thomas McIlworth.

It is an interesting fact that many secondary features in the portrait of Mrs. Livingston seem unmistakably to have been imitated by McIlworth from a portrait of her mother-in-law, Mrs. Philip (Catherine Van Brugh) Livingston (1689–1756), signed and dated by "John Wollaston, 1752,"[13] which, according to strong internal evidence, was hanging in the Manor House at the time of McIlworth's visit, during the months of November and December, 1764.[14]

Though the face of Maria Livingston is painted wholly in

[13] This signature and date (according to information given on the mount to which the photograph of the portrait is attached, in the Frick Art Reference Library, N.Y.C.) were discovered on the back of the canvas by John M. Phillips (now Director, Yale Art Gallery, and Curator of the Garvan Collection, Yale University), who reidentified the subject as Catherine (Van Brugh) Livingston, a wholly convincing suggestion accepted by the owners of the portrait, and by William Sawitzky. An additional statement on this FARL mount quotes William Sawitzky as saying that, in his opinion, the portrait was "undoubtedly by John Wollaston."

It is reproduced in *The Livingstons of Livingston Manor*, opposite p. 58, as Alida (Schuyler) Livingston (1656–1729).

[14] A letter from the present owner of the portrait of Catherine (Van Brugh) Livingston, Mr. Herman Livingston, "Oak Hill," Greendale, New York, to Mr. Charles E. Baker, Editor, The New-York Historical Society, dated January 6, 1951, gives the following corroboration of this inner evidence: "We have been very bad about preserving the history of our family portraits, probably because they all hung in the Manor House which was only about two miles from Oak Hill and which was burned or pulled down right after the death of the last proprietor of the Manor."

McIlworth's characteristic manner, the general composition, the posture of figure and hands, the treatment of fabrics, especially the peculiar forms of the highlights on sleeve and skirt, the size, shape, and binding of the book—which, however, replaces the Dutch title "Het/Geestelyke/Leeven"[15] with "The/Holy/Bible," showing the transition from Dutch to English speech and usages—the position of the volume in her hand, even the similar, conservative costume, appear to have been quite frankly copied by McIlworth, and suggest that he was only too glad to have access to this rather striking model, in his effort to surpass himself in portraying the Lady of Livingston Manor.[16] Further reasons for supposing that McIlworth had this actual painting before him, rather than that he was affected by a general influence of Wollaston's work, are: first, that another portrait of a lady of the Livingston family,[17] attributed by William Sawitzky to McIlworth, and almost certainly painted during this visit of 1764, shows again, though in bust length and facing in the opposite direction, a likeness, both technical and personal, to Wollaston's Catherine Livingston; second, that no other example, executed before or after McIlworth's sojourn at the Manor, which has so far come to light, contains these borrowed characteristics.[18]

William Sawitzky liked the bold, effective style of McIlworth: the flushed faces, and shining—if often mismatched—eyes of his sitters, the harmonious colors and agreeable treatment of the costumes; and was interested in the fact that he achieved an ap-

[15] Translated "The Spiritual Life" by Miss Emily Whitney of New Haven.

[16] Most of these closely corresponding details were observed by William Sawitzky in comparing the reproduction of the copy of Maria Livingston's portrait in the family genealogy with a photograph of Wollaston's likeness of her mother-in-law. The similarity is, however, far more striking between the two original portraits.

[17] The face of this portrait, though it looks considerably younger, bears a strong personal similarity to that of Wollaston's Catherine (Van Brugh) Livingston. It was, in the opinion of William Sawitzky, a posthumous likeness of her by McIlworth, based on Wollaston's portrait, and possibly, at the request of her son, made to appear younger—rather as he remembered her in his earlier manhood. Both pictures have been erroneously called Alida (Schuyler) Livingston.

[18] Most of this "Fore-Statement" will be used in the Foreword to William Sawitzky's monograph on The Portraits and Life of Thomas McIlworth, which volume will be dedicated, according to his wish, to the late Francis P. Garvan, and to Mabel Brady Garvan.

parent good likeness, and was able to suggest his subject's age with quite amazing closeness, in spite of his little-changing, and sometimes almost identically repeated, formulae. However, the principal value of McIlworth's contribution was, in William Sawitzky's opinion, historical rather than artistic. These portraits showing the frontier "lord" and merchant or trader-statesman, often still accompanied by his spouse after generations of inheritance, are forceful, first-hand pictorial documents of mid-18th-century New York, reflecting the imported elegance and indigenous roughness of the inhabitant and his time.

The following portion of the Descriptive Catalogue of his monograph on Thomas McIlworth, written by William Sawitzky before his death, is presented here in order to record his opinions concerning two portraits which have long been under especial discussion.

DANIEL CAMPBELL (?)

Subject: This painting and its companion piece are allegedly portraits of Sir William Johnson, Bart., and his housekeeper Mary (or Molly) Brant, a Mohawk Indian woman and mother of eight of Johnson's illegitimate children. They came for the first time to public attention in January, 1930, when they were included in an auction sale of paintings at the now defunct American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, New York, N.Y. A study of the subject has, however, convinced the author that the correctness of such identifications is contradicted by all the evidence, intrinsic and otherwise, which presents itself. This evidence, and the conclusions that can be drawn from it, are given under "Comment B."

In the absence of definite proof, the question regarding the actual identity of the subjects cannot be answered with certainty, but the provenance of the pictures strongly suggests the probability of their being portraits of Daniel and Engeltie (Bratt) Campbell, of Schenectady, New York, intimate friends of Sir William Johnson. They were people of such wealth and local prominence that it would seem strange indeed if Thomas McIlworth, who seems to have spent between three and four years in Schenectady, would not have been engaged by them to paint their portraits, or would have neglected to solicit the commission for his

own financial benefit. The case is an interesting one, and for this reason more detailed information about the Campbell family of Schenectady is given here than would be necessary under ordinary circumstances.

Daniel Campbell, of Scotch descent, was born in Ireland, September 1730, and died in Schenectady, August 16, 1802, at the age of 71 years, 10 months and 28 days. He came to the Mohawk Valley town not later than 1754, engaged in trade, amassed a large fortune, and in 1762 built an imposing house and stable, designed by Samuel Fuller, on a site which is now the north-east corner of Church and State Streets. Although altered, these buildings still stand. When Schenectady was granted a charter, October 1765, Campbell became one of the first aldermen. No record of his marriage to Engeltie, daughter of Arent Samuelse Bratt, has been found, but their son David, to all evidence an only child, was baptized November 15, 1768. He remained unmarried and died in his 33d year, June 29, 1801, predeceasing his parents. In his will, dated June 8th of that year, he left all of his property to his father. The latter made his will on July 16, 1801, two weeks after his son's death, bequeathing a portion of his wealth to a nephew, a Dr. Campbell of London, who resided several years in this country, and leaving the bulk of his estate to his widow. Mrs. Daniel Campbell died September 28, 1812, and in her will, dated May 27, 1811, and proved October 7, 1812, she divided a large sum among her various relations, and made her great-nephew Daniel David Campbell Schermerhorn her residuary legatee on condition that he drop the name Schermerhorn, which he was enabled to do by an act of the legislature. Colonel Daniel David Campbell, so called because of an appointment in the state militia, married Julia Sitterly, and in 1832 built a mansion of 26 rooms, surrounded by landscaped grounds, a deer park and two tracks for horse racing, on a large tract of land which overlooked the Rotterdam Flat and the Mohawk Valley to the westward. In furnishing the mansion, he used many of the pieces which Daniel Campbell had imported from England for the house he built in 1762. The Rotterdam mansion remained for almost a century in the possession of descendants, who during recent years have disposed of some of their heirlooms, including the two oil portraits here under discussion. In 1941, the house itself was sold to a private buyer, and the rest of the family heirlooms dispersed at public sale on the premises. (Sources: Jonathan Pierson, *Genealogies of the First Settlers of Schenectady*, pp. 32–33; original records of the Schenectady Reformed Church, vol. I, p. 179; *Schenectady Gazette*, October 13, 1941, p. 18.)

Date: If this portrait represents Daniel Campbell (1730–1802), as it is here suggested, it was most likely painted in Schenectady, between 1763 and 1766.

Description: Canvas, 30 x 25. Elbow-length, standing, to right. Eyes of a cool gray; very dark brown (almost black) natural hair, dressed in curls at the sides. Coat of medium-brown broadcloth, with turned-down and flat-lying collar, trimmed with narrow gold braid and filigree gold but-

tons; waistcoat of the same material and similarly trimmed; white linen collar turned down over black stock. Background a feigned oval of shaded olive gray, with connecting spandrels in the lower corners.

Ownership: Henry F. du Pont, Winterthur, Delaware.

Reproduced: Catalogue of public sale (Philip Flayderman collection, and others), American Art Association–Anderson Galleries, New York, N.Y., January 2–4, 1930, No. 442, as a "Portrait of Sir William Johnson, by Joseph Blackburn."

Upon inquiry, the author has learned that the attribution to Blackburn was made during the early 1920's by someone who was consulted in the matter. (See "Comment A.")

References: John Hill Morgan and Henry Wilder Foote, "An Extension of Lawrence Park's Descriptive List of the Work of Joseph Blackburn," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April 1936, in a supplemental list of portraits attributed to Blackburn, with the following "Note": "Mr. Morgan and Mr. Foote do not agree with the attribution to Blackburn and leave the question open as to whether the portrait is of Sir William Johnson." (See "Comment A.")

Comment A: There can only be general agreement on the rejection of the attribution of this portrait, and its companion piece, to Joseph Blackburn. A confusion between the works of Blackburn and some of his contemporaries would have been understandable several decades ago, when our knowledge of Blackburn was meager and fragmentary. There was little excuse for it in 1930, in view of the fact that in October, 1922, Lawrence Park had published in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* a searching critical estimate of "Joseph Blackburn, a Colonial Portrait Painter," and an excellent descriptive list of almost 90 of his paintings, a piece of research work which restored to the artist the place he deserves to occupy among our 18th-century portrait painters. Since then, another *c.* 30 authentic canvases have come to light, and of this total of some 120, about two thirds are signed and dated, providing us with as many key pictures by Blackburn as we can wish for. While of the artist as a person nothing is known beyond the quite obvious facts of his British origin and training, we can follow his professional activities on this side of the Atlantic over a period of eleven years: during 1752–53 on Bermuda, and after that and until about 1763 in Portsmouth, N. H., Newport, R. I., and Boston. There has never been any evidence of Blackburn visiting New York State, and no portraits by him of residents of this State are known to exist. When the rising star of young John S. Copley of Boston proved too much of a competition, Blackburn seems to have embarked directly from a New England port for his native country. He had come to the Colonies with a definite technique and finished style, which, though in no way original and also rather "thin," has fluency, decorative qualities, charm and a certain "elegance." Many of his sitters doubtless felt as young Mary Russell did, who enthusiastically and un-

orthographically wrote to her brother-in-law, Chambers Russell: " . . . Have you set for your Pickture. is the mouth placed in proper order. do your eyes roll about. Tel Mr. Blackburn that Miss Lucy is in love with his Picktures wonders what business he has to make such extreem fine lace and satten besides taking so exact a likeness. . . . "

Comment B: Our conception of Sir William Johnson's physical appearance is based on two well-authenticated contemporary oil portraits, painted in 1750 and in 1763, respectively, and therefore showing him at the ages of 35 and 48. The earlier one was sent by Johnson to his father in Ireland, accompanied by a letter dated October 31, 1754, which contains the following paragraph: "As I cannot wait on you myself yet a while, I send you my Picture, wh. I had drawn four years ago, the Drapery I would have altered, but here is no Painter now can do it, the greatest fault in it is, the narrow hanging Shoulders wh. I beg you may get altered as Mine are verry broad and square." This portrait, on canvas measuring 30 x 25 inches, and showing the subject at elbow length, slightly turned to right, is now owned by the Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, New York. It was obtained in 1921, together with the original letter, by John M. Clarke, then president of the Society, from John Leonard of Culmullen House, Drumree, County Meath, Ireland. Mr. Leonard got it from an uncle who lived in Warrentown, County Down, Ireland, a place from which Anne Warren, Johnson's mother, came. It is reproduced as frontispiece to Vol. II of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson* (Albany: 1922). The above-quoted paragraph from the letter can be found on p. ix of the volume, and the complete text is printed at the end of Vol. I. At that time the artist had not been identified, but in 1924 the Institute's *Catalogue of Paintings* listed it under No. 181 as by "John Woolston." This is an obvious misspelling or a misprint for John Wollaston, Jr., itinerant English painter, active here from 1749 until 1767. That the attribution to Wollaston is correct, cannot be doubted by anyone familiar with this artist's work. Johnson's complaint about the "narrow hanging Shoulders" could have been repeated by a number of other sitters, as it is one of Wollaston's peculiar mannerisms, as are the slanting eyes with baggy underlids, and the puffy hands, though these traits are in some portraits less pronounced than in others. What interests us, from an iconographical point of view, in this early portrait of Johnson are several distinct characteristics: dark-brown eyes, a high and broad forehead, straight nose, and dimpled chin.

These same characteristics can be seen in the Johnson portrait painted about 13 years later by Thomas McIlworth. Of this portrait, regrettably, only the copy owned by The New-York Historical Society can here be reproduced, though efforts have been made to locate and obtain a photograph of the original, which, if it has not perished in recent years, may still be in the possession of Johnson descendants. As it stands to reason, the face in this second portrait is more mature and somewhat heavier,

and the mouth wider, while the broad shoulders are in keeping with Johnson's own description and with what we know of his physical prowess. In the early as well as in the later portrait, he is pictured wearing British uniform coats of red, with broad revers, gold braid and gilt buttons, white neckcloth and shirt frill. In the first, his waistcoat is dark blue, in the second—yellow. Allowing for the difference in the subject's age, as well as for the rather static technical formulae of the artists, the two portraits corroborate each other well. This, together with their histories, establishes them as the two authentic life-portraits by which all other pictures, claimed to be likenesses of the "Lord of Mohawk Valley," must be judged.

The portrait formerly owned by the Campbell Estate is unmistakably by the same hand as the later Johnson portrait, and of the same period, the 1760's, but as it shows a man with markedly different features and personality, this circumstance only serves to emphasize the impossibility of its being another representation of Johnson. The eyes are not dark brown, but of a cool gray, the forehead is less high and wide, the lips are heavier, there is no dimple in the chin, and the nose is larger and bulbous, greatly resembling the nose of William Walton whose portrait by McIlworth is reproduced in this Catalogue Raisonné. Lastly, the subject does not wear a wig, like Johnson, but his own hair, as indicated by the diffused border line on forehead and temples.

The sales catalogue of 1930 gives the following sequence of ownership of the portraits: "Collection Sir William Johnson; his intimate friend and executor, Daniel Campbell; a descendant of Daniel Campbell; Campbell Estate, Schenectady, N.Y." This is supplemented in the *Schenectady Gazette* article of October 13, 1941—written on the occasion of the sale of the Rotterdam Flat mansion—by the remark that two oil portraits which formerly hung in that house, were "identified as those of Sir William Johnson and his Indian wife, Molly Brant," and that they had come to the Campbell family "directly from the baronet who made the Schenectady trader his executor and who was a frequent visitor at the town house."

For the assertion that the portraits were originally in the "Collection Sir William Johnson" and had come to the Campbell family "directly from the baronet," no proof is furnished or referred to. That Daniel Campbell was Johnson's intimate friend, we can be certain. However, in his "Last Will and Testament," made at Johnson Hall on January 27, 1774, and probated in England on February 9, 1776, Johnson named no fewer than fourteen executors, or "any six of them." They were: his son, Sir John Johnson, K[t].; his two sons-in-law, Daniel Claus and Guy Johnson, Esq[r][s].; his two brothers, John and Warren Johnson, Esq[rs].; Daniel Campbell of Schenectady; John Butler, Jeles Fonda, Capt[n]. James Stevenson, of Albany; Robert Adems [of Johnstown]; Samuel Stringer of Albany; Doctor John Dease [Johnson's nephew]; Henry Fry, Esq[r].;

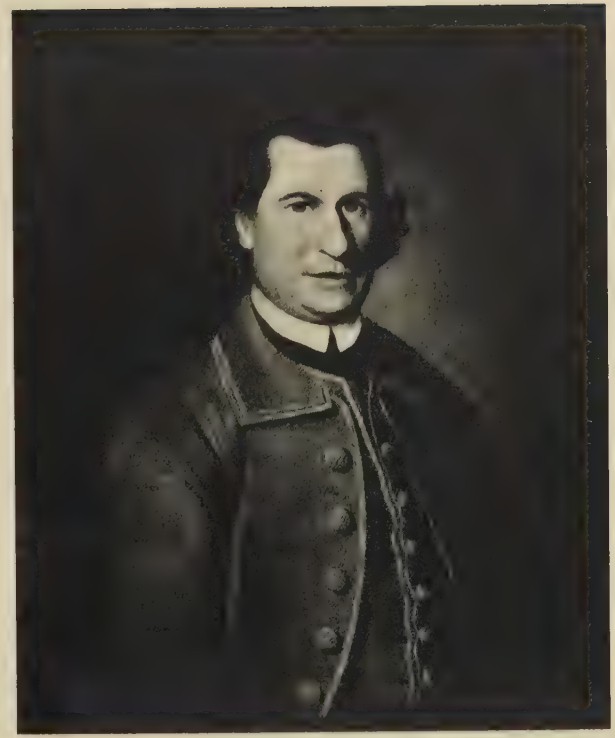
and Joseph Chew, Esq^r. [of Kingsborough, in what was then Tryon County, N.Y.].[19] Therefore a reference to Daniel Campbell as Johnson's intimate friend "and executor" creates the impression that he was Johnson's only executor, and attaches to him an importance which, in this particular case, he did not have. Not only misleading, but to all evidence entirely baseless, is the sales catalogue's reference to "a descendant of Daniel Campbell." His only and unmarried son having predeceased him, Daniel Campbell left no descendant, as far as we know from his own will and from published data about the family, and the actual successive ownership of the portraits seems to have been as follows: Daniel and Engeltie (Bratt) Campbell; Mrs. Daniel Campbell; her great-nephew and principal heir, Col. Daniel David Campbell; Campbell Estate, Schenectady, N.Y.

The companion portrait, allegedly of Mary Brant, or "Miss Molly," as she was called, has been disregarded up to this point for two reasons. First, its acceptance or rejection as what it is "said to be," depends largely on whether or not the other portrait is found to be convincing as a likeness of Sir William Johnson. Second, no other picture is known to exist for which the claim has been made that it is a portrait of Mary Brant, and this precludes the possibility of any comparison. Giving it the benefit of doubt, the first question calling for an answer is: has the woman, shown in the portrait, the racial characteristics of a Mohawk squaw? This writer's personal impression is that she does not look any more Indian than, for instance, Mrs. Robert R. Livingston, Mrs. William Samuel Johnson, and the Unidentified Lady from the Cuyler Family, whose portraits by McIlworth are reproduced in this Catalogue Raisonné. Mary's famous brother, the Mohawk chief Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), was painted in 1786, at the age of 44, by Gilbert Stuart, and twenty years later by Ezra Ames. Both of his portraits show the prominent cheek-bones, spreading nostrils, and brownish-copper skin characteristic of most tribes of the Red Race. None of these features is observable in the alleged picture of Mary Brant. Instead, the subject's complexion is creamish-white on forehead, neck and bosom, with the florid color on cheeks, nose and chin, which is one of McIlworth's primitive means of expressing the well-being of most of his sitters. She is even considerably less tanned than Mrs. William Samuel Johnson, wife of the first president of Columbia College, whose portrait was adjudged "a good likeness" by her own father-in-law.

One more aspect of the case remains to be discussed: the psychological and social one. It is of basic importance and can perhaps best be summed up in this question: is it at all probable, and can it actually be believed, that a man with the racial and social background of Sir William Johnson, and in his position, would have had a portrait of his Indian housekeeper

[19] From photostatic copy of Sir William Johnson's will, Misc. Mss., N.-Y. Historical Society.

painted as a companion piece to his own, and then present these portraits to a friend and his wife, people of wealth and prominence, to be displayed in their "imposing house," which doubtless was the scene of many social gatherings of the Schenectady and Albany élite of that time? There is evidence that Miss Molly's position at Johnson Hall was one of dignity, but that is not more than could be expected from a man with Johnson's inherent sense of fairness. The fact that in his will he provided generously for her and the eight children, and named six of his executors as their "Guardians and Trustees," proves his concern over their future welfare. But in the same will a broad line of demarkation is drawn between his deceased legitimate wife and their three children, and his later, illegitimate family. He directs that his body ". . . be decently Interred in the Place which I intend for it and I would willingly have the remains of my beloved Wife Catharine Johnson deposited there if not done before my Decease." As he was a man of very great wealth, owning hundreds of thousands of acres of land north of the Mohawk River, a baronial estate near present-day Johnstown, a number of tenanted farms, town houses in Albany and Schenectady, and—in addition—a great deal of cash, he left large bequests to his "dearly beloved Son Sir John Johnson," his "two Daughters Ann Claus and Mary Johnson," his "Sons in Law Col. Daniel Claus and Col. Guy Johnson," and smaller bequests to his brothers John and Warren Johnson, his four married sisters (whose husbands' surnames are given as Dease, Sterling, Plunket, and Fitzimmons), his "much Esteemed nephew Doctor John Dease," his "faithful Friend Robert Adems Esq^{r}. of Johnstown," his "much Esteemed Friend and Old Acquaintance Joseph Chew Esq^{r}. now of Kingsborough in the County of Tryon," to "Mr. William Byrne of Kingsborough," and to "Mr. Patrick Daly now living with me for whom I have a particular Regard." To Mary Brant he consistently refers as "my present Housekeeper," and on one occasion as "my prudent and faithful Housekeeper." The given names of their eight children were Peter, Elizabeth, Magdalene, Margaret, George, Mary, Susana, and Anne. It is interesting and perhaps revealing that the elder boy is called "Peter Johnson my natural Son by Mary Brant," and the younger one "George my natural Son by Mary Brant," whereas none of the girls is ever referred to as his natural daughter, but always as "Sister of the aforesaid" (or "the former" or "the abovenamed"), and as "Daughter of Mary Brant." The inevitable conclusion is that Sir William Johnson, with all of his human decency and personal kindness, could not and did not regard Mary Brant as his wife, but that she always remained what she was: his housekeeper and mistress, and the mother of eight of his natural children. To assume that under such conditions he had his own and Mary's portraits painted as companion pieces, and then sent them as a gift to socially prominent friends, means to disregard completely the white man's psychology and sense of decorum. That sort of thing is "not done" today, and it was not done in the



[PROBABLY] DANIEL CAMPBELL (1730–1802)
By Thomas McIlworth, Schenectady, *c.* 1763–66
Courtesy, Mr. Henry F. du Pont, Winterthur, Del.

[PROBABLY] MRS. DANIEL (ENGELTIE BRATT) CAMPBELL (1740–1812)
By Thomas McIlworth, Schenectady, *c.* 1763–66
Courtesy, Mr. Henry F. du Pont, Winterthur, Del.

eighteenth century. Though indicative of a regrettable double standard of morals, the facts remain.

Note: A copy of the above comment was submitted to the present owner of the portraits, who accepts the author's analysis and conclusions as convincing.

MRS. DANIEL CAMPBELL (?)

Subject: This painting is allegedly a portrait of the Mohawk Indian woman Mary (or Molly) Brant, housekeeper to Sir William Johnson, Bart., and mother of eight of his illegitimate children. In the author's opinion such an identification is entirely unconvincing, and he suggests that in all probability it is a portrait of Mrs. Daniel Campbell, daughter of Arent Samuelse Bratt, who was born *c.* 1740, and died September 28, 1812, at Schenectady, New York. The reasons for such a tentative identification are given in connection with the companion portrait of Daniel Campbell (?).

Date: Most likely painted in Schenectady, between 1763 and 1766.

Description: Canvas, 30 x 25. Waist-length, standing, slightly to left. Brown eyes, black hair; creamish-white complexion, with florid color on checks, nose and chin. Dress of pale yellow silk, trimmed with pinked bands of the same material, and with white lawn at the low-cut neck and elbow-length sleeves. Background a feigned oval of olive-gray, with connecting spandrels in the lower corners.

Ownership: Henry F. du Pont, Winterthur, Delaware.

Reproduced: Catalogue of public sale (Philip Flayderman collection, and others), American Art Association—Anderson Galleries, New York City, January 2–4, 1930, No. 443, "said to be" a "Portrait of 'Molly' Brant," by Joseph Blackburn. (See "Comment A" and the last two paragraphs of "Comment B" to companion portrait.)

References: John Hill Morgan and Henry Wilder Foote, "An Extension of Lawrence Park's Descriptive List of the Work of Joseph Blackburn," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1936, in a supplemental list of portraits attributed to Blackburn, with the following "Note": "Mr. Morgan and Mr. Foote do not agree with the attribution to Blackburn and leave the question open as to whether or not it is of Molly Brant." (See "Comment A" and the last two paragraphs of "Comment B" to companion portrait.)

Following is a chronologically arranged list of the portraits attributed by William Sawitzky to Thomas McIlworth and treated in full in his Descriptive Catalogue, later to be published

by the Society. Each entry shows (in the order given): the name of the sitter; his or her dates of birth and death (in parentheses); the specific place or general locality (New York City, 1758–1762; Albany or Schenectady, 1762–1767) where the portrait was painted; the date, either general or circumstantially definite, of the painting; and (in italics) the name and address of the present owner.

CHECKLIST OF ATTRIBUTIONS TO THOMAS McILWORTH

1. Gerardus Stuyvesant (1690–1777): New York City; 1758–1762. *The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*
2. Nicholas William Stuyvesant (1722–1788): New York City; 1758–1762. *The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*
3. Mrs. Abraham (Gertrude Coeymans) Lott, Jr. (1726–?): New York City; 1758–1762. *Mrs. Oscar J. Charles, Port Blakely, Wash.*
4. Lewis Morris (1698–1762): New York City; 1758–1762. *The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*
5. Mrs. Richard (Elizabeth Becker) Curzon (1731–1789): New York City; *c.* 1760. *Mrs. John D. Wing, Charleston, S. C.*
6. The Reverend Samuel Johnson (1696–1772): New York City; *c.* 1761. *The Misses Edith and Geraldine W. Carmalt, New Haven, Conn.*
7. Dr. William Samuel Johnson (1727–1819): New York City; 1761. *The Misses Edith and Geraldine W. Carmalt, New Haven, Conn.*
8. Mrs. William Samuel (Ann Beach) Johnson (*c.* 1730–1796): New York City; 1761. *The Misses Edith and Geraldine W. Carmalt, New Haven, Conn.*
9. Mrs. Robert R. (Margaret Beekman) Livingston (1724–1800): New York City; 1758–1762. *Columbia County Historical Society, Kinderhook, N.Y.*
10. William Walton (1731–1796): New York City; 1758–1762. *The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*
11. James Thompson (1728–1812): New York City; 1758–1762. *Miss Frances J. Eggleston, Oswego, N. Y.*
12. Hugh Peebles (?–?): Albany or Schenectady; 1762–1767. *Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, N.Y.*
13. Mrs. Hugh (Gertrude) Peebles (?–?): Albany or Schenectady; 1762–1767. *Albany Institute of History and Art, Albany, N.Y.*

14. Unidentified Gentleman of Cuyler Family (?–?): Albany or Schenectady; 1762–1767. *M. Knoedler and Company, New York City.*

15. Unidentified Lady of Cuyler Family (?–?): Albany or Schenectady; 1762–1767. *Mrs. Antonie P. Voislawsky, New York City.*

16. Sir William Johnson, Bart. (1715–1774): Johnson Hall, Johnstown, N.Y.; May 1763. *Original unlocated; copy at The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*

17. Stephen Van Rensselaer II (1742–1769): Manor of Rensselaerswyck, N.Y.; life portrait, 1763; replica, *c.* 1763–1767. *Mrs. Theodore Strong, New Brunswick, N. J.*

18. Stephen Van Rensselaer II (1742–1769): Manor of Rensselaerswyck, N.Y.; life portrait, 1763; replica, *c.* 1763–1767. *Mr. Thomas H. Barber, New York City.*

19. Jeremias Van Rensselaer? (1738–1764 [Jan. or Feb., in South Carolina]): Albany or Schenectady; 1762–1767. *Mrs. Theodore Strong, New Brunswick, N.J.*

20. Augustus Van Cortlandt? (1728–1823): Albany, Schenectady, or New York City; 1762–1767. *Mr. and Mrs. Cortlandt S. Van Rensselaer, Bedford Hills, N.Y.*

21. Mrs. Augustus (Catherine Barclay) Van Cortlandt? (1744–1808): Albany, Schenectady, or New York City; 1762–1767. *Mr. and Mrs. Cortlandt S. Van Rensselaer, Bedford Hills, N.Y.*

22. Mrs. Philip (Catherine Van Rensselaer) Schuyler (1734–1803): Albany or Schenectady; 1762–1767. *The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*

23. Mrs. Robert (Maria Thong) Livingston[20] (1711–1765): Livingston Manor, N.Y.; November or December, 1764. *The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*

24. Robert Livingston[21] (1708–1790): Livingston Manor, N.Y.; November or December, 1764. *The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*

25. Mrs. Philip (Catherine Van Brugh) Livingston? (1689–1756) [Based on a portrait by Wollaston]: Livingston Manor, N.Y.; November or December, 1764. *Mrs. Harold Exham, Iwerne Minster, Dorset, England.*

[20] Accepted by Susan Sawitzky as the original portrait by McIlworth, known to William Sawitzky only through the reproduction of a copy, but believed by him from this reproduction to be the possible companion portrait of McIlworth's Robert Livingston.

[21] Accepted by Susan Sawitzky as the original portrait attributed to Thomas McIlworth by William Sawitzky by means of a copy.

26. Philip Livingston "The Signer" (1716–1778): Livingston Manor, N.Y.? November or December, 1764? or New York City, *c.* 1766? *Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, N.Y.*
27. John Duncan (1722–1791): Schenectady, N.Y.; 1762–1767. *Mr. and Mrs. Edgar H. Sittig, Shawnee-on-Delaware, Pa.*
28. Daniel Campbell? (1730–1802): Schenectady, N.Y.; 1762–1767. *Mr. Henry F. du Pont, Winterthur, Del.*
29. Mrs. Daniel (Engeltie Bratt) Campbell? (1740–1812): Schenectady, N.Y.; 1762–1767. *Mr. Henry F. du Pont, Winterthur, Del.*
30. Mrs. Stephen (Catherine Livingston) Van Rensselaer II (1745–1810): Manor of Rensselaerswyck, N.Y.; 1762–1767. *Mrs. Roger Milliken, New York City.* [Added, 1951, by Susan Sawitzky.]

OUTLINE OF McILWORTH'S LIFE FROM 1757 TO 1769

In his monograph on the artist, William Sawitzky has filled in, where possible, this bare framework of dates with the more expanded facts of McIlworth's life reconstructed from letters and other documentary material.[22]

CHRONOLOGY

1757: Became member of St. Andrew's Society, New York City.

1758, May 8: Advertised in *New York Mercury*: "Portrait Painter, has removed to the House wherein Mr. Carden Proctor now lives. . . ."

1758, Aug. 21: Advertised in *New-York Gazette:* "His first Sett of Pictures are now finished."

1758, Aug. 28: Repeated advertisement in *New-York Gazette.*

1759–1760: Manager of St. Andrew's Society, New York City.

1759, May 14–1760, Nov. 14: Lodged and boarded with Samuel Deall, New York City.

1760, Oct. 3: Thomas McIlworth and Anna Statia Willett took out marriage bond.

1760, Nov. 14–1761, May 14: Thomas McIlworth and his wife lodged and boarded with Samuel Deall, New York City.

1761: Their son, Thomas Moseman McIlworth, was born.

1761, after May 14: Thomas and Anna McIlworth appear to have left Samuel Deall's and probably New York City. They may have gone for a time to Westchester for the birth, or early infancy, of the boy.

[22] These sources will be cited in detail in the forthcoming monograph.

but soon removed to upper New York Province, going either temporarily to Albany, or directly to Schenectady, where they were to make their home for at least the next three years.

1761, Dec., and 1762, Jan.: McIlworth was again in New York City, apparently alone, lodging and boarding with Samuel Deall, and doubtless painting some portraits.

1762, May and June: McIlworth seems to have been in and out of the city, for purchases are recorded by Deall in May and June, but not afterward.

1762, second half of year: The McIlworths were living either temporarily in Albany, or already, as seems more likely, in Schenectady. Their daughter, Anna, was born in this year.

1763, April 21: Witham Marsh, in a letter to Sir William Johnson, mentions meeting McIlworth in Albany.

1763, April 29, Schenectady: Marsh and McIlworth setting out for Johnson Hall next day.

1763, May: Painting portrait of Sir William, and perhaps other members of the family, at Johnson Hall.

1763, Dec. 14, Schenectady: Letter to Sir William Johnson asking permission to name son for him.

1763, Dec. 25, Schenectady: Son, William Johnson McIlworth, baptized.

1764, Nov. 8, Schenectady: Letter to Johnson acknowledging sympathy in affliction. Baby son, William Johnson, seems to have died.

1764, Nov. and Dec.: Painting portraits of Robert and Maria Livingston, and possibly other members of the family, at Livingston Manor.

1765, Oct. 23: Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden granted a borough charter to Schenectady, and among the first officials was: Town Clerk, Thomas McIlworth.

1766, Feb. 28: John Duncan in Schenectady, writing to Johnson: "[Mc] Ilworths Arrival here last Night . . ."

1766, Oct. 26, New York City: Letter from McIlworth to Johnson, mentioning illness of his wife, his reduced circumstances, and asking support of Johnson in effort to retain his clerkship in Schenectady. [Mrs. McIlworth seems to have died in 1766 or 1767.]

1767, Sept.: No longer on list of officials elected or appointed for the borough of Schenectady.

1767, Oct. 24, Montreal, Canada: Letter from McIlworth to Johnson.

1767, Nov. 27: Letter from Johnson to McIlworth in Montreal.

1769, Dec. or 1770, Jan.: From evidence which is strong, though not conclusive, McIlworth appears to have died outside the Province of New York.

THE PRENTIS COLLECTION

by R. W. G. Vail

THE Old Boston Post Road used to be a meandering thoroughfare which, in its own good time, would take you by stagecoach or on horseback from the bustling seaport of New York through the beautiful but stony farms and thrifty manufacturing towns of New England until you finally reached the intellectual and business center of the region at Boston. But today, in spite of the paved and straightened road which replaces the old dusty or muddy turnpike, you are glad to escape the clatter and fumes of the Post Road, the ugly towns and unpleasant billboards, and to turn off at the village church when you come to Westbrook and, having ducked under the railroad, come out in the lovely, unchanged Connecticut countryside and follow the quiet windings of Pond Meadow Road in search of Candle Light Farm, the delightful 18th-century country home of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy. After a few miles of rolling farm land with comfortable houses set within clusters of ancient trees, you will find the landmark you have been seeking—the mailbox in the form of an old New England church—and so you turn left, dip down the drive to a little brook and up to the other side, and there you see the lovely old farmhouse with its adjoining cottage, its well-tended gardens and Samuel's preparations for luncheon out under the great trees.

Of course your hostess has been watching and so, when you drive up, she is waiting on the flagstoned patio behind the house to welcome you. And presently her brother also makes his appearance, for he has taken a holiday from the task of rebuilding a great city to be with his sister and her guests. When you are seated comfortably under the trees with one of Samuel's famous whiskey sours in hand, your hostess tells you a little of the history of her wonderful collection of 17th- and early 18th-century American furniture—each piece one of her loved children—which she has spent a lifetime in collecting.

CANDLE LIGHT FARM, POND MEADOW ROAD, WESTBROOK, CONN.

After a memorable meal served on ancient china and spiced with the reminiscences of an enthusiastic and skillful collector, you are shown through the house and the cottage, each filled—but not crowded—with the choicest New England furnishings of every description. There have been many winnowings to bring this collection to its present state of perfection. Almost every piece has replaced a previous but inferior specimen which has been discarded in favor of a choicer example. And this process has gone on for many years of wise and discriminating collecting and it is still going on, for no real collector can ever stop, since there may always be a more beautiful Connecticut chest, a lovelier piece of crewel-work, or a more distinguished portrait in the antique shop around the bend of the road or at next week's country auction.

Of course many of Mrs. Murphy's friends, including the leading collectors, curators, dealers, and writers on American an-

tiques, have seen the treasures in her Connecticut home and many more have been thrilled when, on occasion, her home has been opened for a day to the public. But that was not enough, for Mrs. Murphy wished to share her collections with all America. So she and Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, her generous and appreciative brother, decided to join forces and give a considerable part of the collection to The New-York Historical Society as a memorial to their mother, Mrs. Edmund Astley Prentis, Sr.

The first three rooms of this magnificent gift are now prepared for your enjoyment. Within these pages you may read the description of these rooms and their furnishings by Mr. Joseph Downs, formerly Curator of the American Wing of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and presently Curator of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum of Winterthur, Delaware; and here you will also find an account of the portraits, the gold and the silver of the Murphy-Prentis gift prepared by Mr. John Marshall Phillips, Director of the Yale University Art Gallery. We are also happy to be able to show you reproductions from the color photographs of some of these rooms in their original Connecticut setting by our Photographer, Mr. Charles T. Miller, and reproduced, with their editor's generous permission, from the color plates used in *The Magazine Antiques* for October, 1950.

To Mrs. Murphy and Mr. Prentis the officers and trustees of the Society express their heartfelt thanks for this wonderful gift which will not only be a beautiful and lasting tribute to the memory of their mother—and to them—but will be a constant source of enjoyment and education to the hundreds of thousands of men and women, boys and girls who will visit our galleries in the years to come. For Mr. Richard J. Koke, Curator of the Museum, and the members of our staff who have installed the Prentis Rooms under his direction—and for myself—I extend grateful thanks to Mr. J. A. Lloyd Hyde, whose stimulating address was delivered at the opening of the Prentis Collection, and to those others, some of whose names we have mentioned, who contributed to the success of this delightful adventure.

THREE EARLY NEW ENGLAND ROOMS

by Joseph Downs

THREE OUTSTANDING ROOMS of unusual historical significance and their furnishings, largely of early New England origin, were the generous gift to The New-York Historical Society in 1950 and '51 of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy and her brother, Edmund Astley Prentis, in memory of their mother, Mrs. Edmund Astley Prentis, Sr. This gift is warmly welcomed by the Society inasmuch as it is a phase of the American arts not adequately represented in the collections.

The period covered by the Prentis Collection is that of the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Although that was a period of history more obscure than earlier and later epochs because it lacked their dramatic events, the rich legacy of great craftsmanship has made it a memorable one. It was a time well favored by the pioneer collectors more than fifty years ago in Massachusetts and Connecticut; namely, Walter Hosmer, Eugene Bolles, Henry Erving, and Dr. Irving W. Lyon, among others, who first brought to notice the oldest examples of oak, maple, and pine furniture of colonial New England. The gift of Mrs. Murphy and Mr. Prentis is in that worthy tradition, and has been assembled during many years. Until last year it was part of the contents of Mrs. Murphy's home in Westbrook, Connecticut.

The first of the three rooms is a parlor, wherein the fireplace wall is completely paneled in unpainted pine of a rich tawny brown color often described in New England as pumpkin pine. It was taken from a house in Massachusetts which was built about 1725.

The heavy bolection moldings around the fireplace and overpanel recall the published designs for rooms by Pierre Le Pautre, Daniel Marot, and John Brown before 1700. The woodwork here represents a palace style of building as it filtered down to domestic dwellings in the period of commercial expansion and

prosperity at the start of the 18th century. The remaining walls are white-plastered, intercepted by small-paned, heavy-muntined windows.

The furnishings might be those of a contemporary governor, magistrate, or merchant. The carved and turned furniture of oak and maple, the imported "Turkey" carpet, crimson velvet table covers and cushions, and shining metal, make an opulent picture. It recalls the privilege granted by law in Massachusetts to the display of wealth which restricted the wearing of gold lace, gold and silver buttons, and red heels to those worth £200 or more.

There is an alliance between period furniture and costume which hardly has been noticed. The wide-pleated ruffs and quilted, jewel-sprinkled costumes of Elizabethan England are reflected on the ponderous oak cupboards and tables, deeply carved and fronted with raised balusters and bosses. In the Restoration of Charles II, luxury took a lighter form in the frothy carving and caning of furniture, the lace, plumes, and ruffles of dress. These cross currents are evident in the rooms here. The pierced cresting of the tall bannister-back chairs suggests the curled periwigs worn by Colonial gentlemen, the caning of the walnut chairs their filmy lace jabots and sleeve ruffles, the fringed velvet cushions their snug-fitted, galoon-trimmed coats. How well Hogarth's portrait of the Walpole family, a few years later, showed the congruity of costume and furniture!

In New England the elegance in houses and dress was confined to the cities and large towns. Madame Knight on her horseback journey from Boston to New York in 1704 was disturbed by the uncouth manners and primitive living she observed in rural areas. The first generation, which had come from England and known

PERIOD PARLOR, HOME OF MRS. KATHARINE PRENTIS MURPHY
WESTBROOK, CONNECTICUT

Photographed 1950, before the furnishings were reinstalled in an authentically designed 18th-century New England parlor at the Society by *gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy and Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1950–1951, in memory of their mother, Mrs. Edmund Astley Prentis, Sr.*

its cultural influence, had then largely disappeared. The second generation more often made "his mark" than a written signature. Books were available, and some were lighter than the first of them all, Stephen Daye's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, 1640. Among others were the famous *Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung up in America* by the first poetess, Anne Bradstreet, in 1650; *A Poem occasioned by the untimely Death of Hugh Henderson . . . Hang'd at Worcester for House-Breaking, Nov. 24, 1737;* the first book on the sport of fishing, by Joseph Seccomb in 1739, *Business and Diversions inoffensive to God, and necessary for the Comfort and Support of human Society, A Discourse utter'd . . . in the Fishing Season.* Then the art of self-defense provided *A Compleat System of Fencing* by Edward Blackwell, 1734; and the *Arithmetick Vulgar and Decimal* in 1729 by Isaac Greenwood was the earliest American textbook of its kind. Cotton Mather, author of the famous *Magnalia*, and many other works, wrote in 1713, *A Letter About a Good Management under the Distemper of the Measles*, one of the first on disease; Increase Mather in 1721 started a long controversy with *Several Reasons Proving that Inoculating or Transplanting the Smallpox is a Lawful Practise, and that it has been Blessed by God for the Saving of many a Life.* The first American cookbook: *The Compleat Housewife* by E. Smith in 1742, and the first book on the horse: *The Husbandman's Magazine* in 1718, must have been popular. Somewhat before that, in 1712 came *The Husband-Man's Guide . . . with Excellent Rules for Planting of Orchards and Gardens.* Most of these books are now owned by the American Antiquarian Society.

Trade with England, the West Indies, and the South was

PERIOD DINING-ROOM, HOME OF MRS. KATHARINE PRENTIS MURPHY WESTBROOK, CONNECTICUT

Photographed 1950, before the furnishings, with few exceptions, were reinstalled in an authentically designed 17th-century New England interior at the Society by *gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy and Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1950–1951, in memory of their mother, Mrs. Edmund Astley Prentis, Sr.*

brisk and made quick fortunes for ship-owners when smuggling and privateering were not unknown. Lumber, furs, salt, fish, leather, and herbs were shipped from New England ports in return for the fabrics, spices, pottery, hardware and other manufactured goods from the mother country. Then the three-way trade of rum, slaves, and sugar between New England and the tropics was flourishing. Rum served for barter at home too; a petition of the Sachem of the Mohegan Indians to Governor Talcott of Connecticut in 1733 began: "English Men often bring great Quantities of Strong Liquor up the River to us (Cyder by the Barrel, and Rhum by the Gallon) and whatsoever we have that they want they purchase with It. . . . My Humble Petition is that there might be Some way found out whereby the Evil Practise might be Suppressed."

Oak chests were the principal Pilgrim furniture, and some having held the meagre possessions of their owners on the overseas voyage gave substance to the later belief that all similar chests came from England. The earlier Colonial ones were carved and had no lower drawer like the chests made by Thomas Dennis in Ipswich in the third quarter of the 17th century. The two fine oak chests in the parlor here must date from the end of that century, as they have lower drawers, geometric molded panels, applied balusters, and "jewels." Boston records mention: "One wainscot chest and drawers in it 12 s." (Inventory of Mrs. Anna Haugh 1690); and "A chest wth drawers underneath 15 s." (Inventory of Nathaniel Thayer 1700/1). Oak chests were long valued for their associations and usefulness when built-in closets were rare in dwellings.

A small maple table with folding leaves and turned legs served as a tea table when "that balefull weed," as Abigail Adams wrote of it, cost 30 shillings a pound. By the fireplace, a large easy chair, upholstered in old red velvet, is a concession to comfort unknown in Puritan days. The subtle curves of its wings and base were borrowed from the human form, when comfort and ease were requisites of furniture in Queen Anne's reign.

Upon the chests and tables here are numerous early Staffordshire cups, dishes, and pitchers; the combed and dotted slip patterns are shaded from yellow to brown. Here, too, as in the other rooms, the carpet from Asia Minor was among the luxuries imported for fine Colonial rooms.

The dining-room represents a 17th-century interior. It is framed by heavy oak beams; the gunstock corner posts, center summer beam (a term derived from sumpter, a pack worn by beasts of burden), and girts remain exposed as the skeleton of the house. The east wall is sheathed with pine, and the others are plastered. A triple casement window admits light through diamond-shaped leaded panes.

The mediaeval aspect of the first permanent dwellings of New England is that of old England. Framed houses of wood, patterned on those of the eastern counties from whence the first settlers came, soon replaced the dugouts, wigwams, wattled huts, and other makeshift shelters. The heavy timbers and small windows shut out the wilderness as well as the climate, and gave a sense of security against the lurking savages in outlying places. The *London Gazette* on November 17, 1675, recounted an incident not unusual then: "This morning arrived here the John Adventure from New-England by which we have advice, that the disorder occasioned by the rising of the Indians, hath put a great stop to the Trade and Commerce there; That the Indians are very numerous, notwithstanding the English have killed and taken many of them; That a little before the departure of this ship from Boston, they had advice, that the Indians, by means of an ambush, had cut off 60 Bostoners. . . . they appear not in any considerable Bodies, by which means the English are not able to do so much execution upon them, as otherwise they might." Thirty years later the Deerfield massacre left that town in ashes, and the inhabitants dead or carried off as prisoners.

The dining-room is dominated by an oak press cupboard, the most valued article of household furniture during the 17th century. This one, of Massachusetts origin, is smaller than several

other press cupboards, or court cupboards which lacked drawers or panels below. In England the cupboard shared in the ritual of dining since early times. The *Book of Nuture*, by Hugh Rhodes about 1550, directs: "When your master will go to his meat, take a towel about your neck, then take a cupboard cloth, a basin and a ewer, and a towel to array your cupboard, then cover your table, and set on salt, bread and trenchers, the salt before the bread, and trenchers before the salt, and set your napkins and spoons on the cupboard ready, and lay every man a trencher, and napkin, and spoon." In New England the initials of the owners often were carved on the cupboards, and records of them are frequent, as: "A large Cuberd wherein a press and drawer £1/5." (Inventory of Thomas Hett of Charlestown, 1688); "One court cubbard a cushen and cloth £2/10 s." (Inventory of Stephen Talby, Boston, 1673/4).

A rare, small Massachusetts chest-on-frame is painted black and red. One of its uses, little mentioned, probably was to hold the gear for washing the hands—the first kind of washstand in fact. Its shape and size lends itself perfectly to this function.

The center of the room is taken up by a large maple gate-leg table; the fine, heavy turnings are a legacy of Jacobean England inherited by able New England craftsmen. This table was formerly in the collection of Eugene Bolles. Standing against the walls are eight bannister-back chairs with carved cresting, painted black. They have an air of Restoration elegance that appeared in Colonial furniture after the oak period. Present-day names for early furniture often are of recent coinage, as wing chair, highboy, and lowboy. But tall chairs with vertically cut balusters were called bannister-backs two hundred or more years ago: "In

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CORNER OF DINING-ROOM, HOME OF MRS. KATHARINE PRENTIS MURPHY WESTBROOK, CONNECTICUT

Photographed 1950, before the furnishings, with few exceptions, were reinstalled in an authentically designed 17th-century New England interior at the Society by *gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy and Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1950–1951, in memory of their mother, Mrs. Edmund Astley Prentis, Sr.*

the Parlour . . . Banister Backs £ 8." (Boston, 1727) and "6 Splint Bannester Back Chairs 11 s." (Boston, 1751) are two such references.

Appropriate to the character and date of the room is a splendid collection of continental and English delft pottery arranged on the chests and walls. A group of Lambeth chargers and dishes are painted with portraits of Adam and Eve, King William on a prancing horse, Queen Mary, Queen Anne, William and Mary, and James II. The figures are chiefly in blue, with touches of purple and orange, and are lively and often humorous expressions of the potters' skill. A large Lambeth covered posset pot in blue and white, with fanciful handles, was meant to be passed around for the assembled company to imbibe from the curved spout. Drug jars, caudle cups, bowls and plates are from the Lambeth and Bristol factories; plates with blue and purple borders are Wincanton. This tin-enameled earthenware, made in Europe, and in England since Elizabethan times, was plentifully imported into the Colonies, and still may be seen in old New England houses. Many references to it are extant: "17 peecis of blew and w[t] earthanware 8 s. 6 d." (Salem, 1664); "1 Dozn Delph plates, 18 s. 1 Dozn Delph pickle caucers 8 s." (Boston, 1724). The square landscape and figure panels on the walls are Holland Delft.

Green silk window curtains match the chair cushions after an old custom of using a single color throughout a room.

In the bedroom the walls are covered with simple stile and rail paneling of unpainted pine. It is of Connecticut origin, about 1740. The fireplace is recessed, and thereby gains importance by the difference of light and shade thrown upon it, a not uncommon practice by the ingenious country joiner.

PERIOD BEDROOM, HOME OF MRS. KATHARINE PRENTIS MURPHY
WESTBROOK, CONNECTICUT

Photographed 1950, before the furnishings were reinstalled in an authentically designed mid-18th-century Connecticut bedroom at the Society by *gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy and Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1950–1951, in memory of their mother, Mrs. Edmund Astley Prentis, Sr.*

Beds and their furniture (or hangings) were treasured perhaps as much as cupboards. For centuries tall-post, curtained beds provided privacy and warmth and often indicated rank by their grandeur. The bed of William III at Hampton Court, about 1690, is hung with crimson velvet and topped by urns of ostrich plumes; it stands seventeen feet high. No complete American bed with hangings of the 17th century is known, but many are described. One instance is that of Thomas Hart, who died in Ipswich in 1674 and bequeathed to his wife Alice "the bed in the parlor with the furniture belonging to it to be at her whole Dispose." The four-post bed here is made important by the rare crewel-work curtains embroidered in an elaborate floral pattern in rich shades of cochineal red, blue, green, and yellow, on homespun linen. The spread is old quilted yellow silk. This bed recalls the famous bed-hangings at York, Maine, with their valences embroidered with verses from hymns amongst the flowers and strapwork, by Mrs. Alexander Bulman after her husband fell at the Siege of Louisburg in 1745.

The high chest of drawers or highboy in the William and Mary style opposite the bed offers a rich contrast in the figures and colors of woods then in favor. The intricate burled veneers of the drawer fronts adequately fill the lack of seaweed marquetry used in England; and the trumpet-shaped legs, painted black, double for the rare ebony likewise employed abroad. Bands of herring-bone veneer add more pattern and color to the front surfaces. This high chest was formerly owned by descendants of the Revere family in Boston, and is believed to have been used by the patriot and silversmith, Paul Revere.

A pair of tall caned chairs carved with S scrolls and "Flemish" curves date about 1680 and are painted black to accord with the japanned furniture then popular, as the Chinese taste spread over the Western world. Contemporary inventories mention: "In the chamber over the great Hall, One doz. of Lackerd Kane chaires £ 12." (Inventory of Captain Andrew Craty, Marblehead, 1695), and "In ye Dining-Room and Chamber, 1 doz. Cane Chairs Black

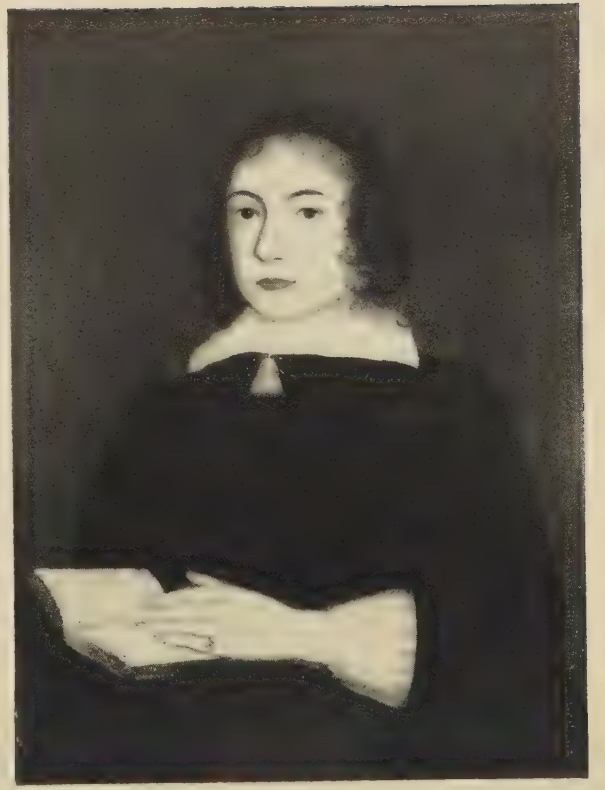
frames, at 16/£ 9. 12." (Inventory of Joseph Pulsifer, mariner, Boston, 1712).

On the walls are a series of rare stump-work embroideries, a conceit almost entirely English. The subjects are concerned with 17th-century royalty and their courts; the figures are built up in relief by padding, and surrounded by a bocage of beadwork and stiffened satin. Contrived with immense patience and skill, these diminutive, serious folk seem to live far removed from the every-day world of 1951.

UNIDENTIFIED LADY

By Unidentified Artist, *c.* 1650

Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1951



UNIDENTIFIED GENTLEMAN

By Unidentified Artist, *c.* 1650

Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1951

PORTRAITS IN THE PRENTIS COLLECTION

by John Marshall Phillips

PORTRAITURE, which was held in high esteem by the early Colonists, judging from surviving inventories, is best interpreted today when it can be seen surrounded by contemporary accessories. With this thought in mind, Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy and her brother Edmund Astley Prentis, in their generous gift of Colonial interiors, have included an interesting group of portraits representative of New England and the South.

Earliest in date is a pair of mid-17th-century portraits of a man and wife, painted in the flat linear style popular in England before the introduction of the baroque traditions by Sir Peter Lely, and the first examples of the early English tradition in portraiture to be received by the Society, whose collection of the Dutch-New York school is so well known. Attired in costumes in vogue in the 1650's, this pair of half-lengths are reminiscent of the portraits of Gov. Josiah Winslow and his wife Penelope in the collection at Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. The presence of an open Bible with Greek text held by the gentleman would suggest his calling as the ministry, while the jewelled necklace of alternating black and white beads with red pendant, two finger rings, together with bracelets of gold and coral, suggest an opulent wife. Unfortunately the sitters of these portraits, which are in an excellent state of preservation considering their age, are clothed in anonymity as the person who acted as the intermediary with an unidentified family of Hempstead, Long Island, stubbornly died without revealing their identity. It is to be hoped that some future visitor, recognizing the portraits, may be able to rescue the sitters from limbo. In their prim pattern one feels a kinship to the linear work of the 17th-century joiner whose angular chests and chairs display the rugged primitive quality of the period of colonization.

The striving for elegance that one finds in the baroque treatment of metalwork and in the rich veneered surfaces of the furni-

KING WILLIAM III (1650–1702)

By J. Cooper, *c.* 1714–1718

Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy, 1951

QUEEN MARY II (1662–1694)

By J. Cooper, *c.* 1714–1718

Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy, 1951

ture at the opening of the 18th century is expressed by the limner in the use of vivid colors, treatment of textures, and the introduction of rounded forms. A naïve attempt at this style of international court portraiture in the manner of Kneller is seen in the works by the little-known limner J. Cooper, whose four signed and dated key pictures ranging from 1714–1718 are discussed by Bartlett Cowdrey in her article on this artist appearing in *Panorama* for November 1945. At that time nine examples were known, all found in the New England area. The three Coopers presented by Mrs. Murphy offer variety in subject matter to the Society's Cooper "Gentleman with Violin," presented by the late W. Phoenix Belknap, Jr., and bring the holdings of the Society to encompass one fourth of the artist's known works. Two of the portraits form a pair, each portraying a reigning British monarch. From the iconography they can be identified as William III (1650–1702) and his wife Mary II (1662–1694), who were proclaimed joint sovereigns in 1689. William III is portrayed in robes of state wearing a crown and leaning against a bit of masonry on which rests his right hand grasping the royal scepter, the orb nearby. In the pendant the Queen in state robes holds firmly with her right hand the crown, resting on a table beside her. This crown is identical with one held by a cherub in Cooper's portrait of Queen Anne in the collection of Yale University. The popularity of William and Mary in New England lasted well into the second quarter of the 18th century judging from the following notice, found in the *Boston Gazette* for December 1/8, 1740: "The Pictures of their late Majesty's King William and Queen Mary of blessed memory, at full length, which were done in London by the best Hands, at the charge of the Province, are come over in Capt. Jones. They are reckoned to be fine Pieces, and on Saturday last they were put up in the Council Chamber."

The third Cooper presents an interesting problem of identification in view of its treatment of an unusual theme, a mother nursing a child who should have been weaned long before. It has

been suggested that it is a portrait of Princess Anne (later Queen Anne) and her son William, Duke of Gloucester (1689–1700). There is nothing in the iconography to suggest royalty and it would seem strange to have a reigning monarch so portrayed unless it were an allegorical interpretation of the good Queen's efforts to provide an heir to the throne. If it is an allegorical treatment—and Cooper was fond of allegorical figures judging from his extant work—then the iconography of the child blowing a horn as well as that of the child bearing a standard topped by a stuffed bird is today obscure.

It was not until a decade after Cooper's latest dated picture that the British court style as formulated by Kneller was established in Boston by the Scottish-born English-trained artist, John Smibert, who in 1730 was to hold the first art exhibition in New England. What a contrast his rounded forms must have offered to those of Cooper! This advent of the arts was heralded by the poet-cleric Mather Byles in his lines "To Mr. Smibert on the sight of his Pictures." Byles in commenting on pre-Smibert painting in New England wrote feelingly:

> Ages our Land a barb'rous Desert stood,
> No laurel'd Art o'er the rude Region smil'd,
> . . . . . .
> No heav'nly Pencil the free Stroke could give,
> Nor the warm Canvas felt its Colors live.
>
> Thy Fame, O Smibert, shall the Muse rehearse
> And sing her Sister Art in softer Verse.
> 'Tis yours, Great Master, in just lines to trace
> The rising Prospect, or the lovely Face,
> In the fair Round to swell the glowing cheek,
> Give Thoughts to Shades and bid the Colours speak.

Dating from Smibert's Boston period (1730–1751) is the portrait which has come down to us as of Mrs. Clarke of Salem, in its original frame. The young matron is shown standing against a wall and on her right "the rising Prospect" is visible. She wears a low-cut blue velvet gown with white muslin trim, a pink scarf

UNIDENTIFIED MOTHER WITH CHILDREN

By J. Cooper, *c.* 1714–1718

Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy, 1951

MRS. CLARKE OF SALEM

By John Smibert

Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1951

DR. AND MRS. SAMUEL CARNE OF CHARLESTON, S. C.
By Jeremiah Theüs (1719–1774)
Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1951

thrown over her left shoulder. Smibert was a keen observer and one is led to believe that the lady was left-handed, as her left arm extends across her body, her fingers holding a pink.* This is the first typical example to be received by the Society of the work of Smibert, who died in Boston on April 2, 1751, "much lamented . . . well known for many fine Pictures he has done here, and celebrated in Italy, as well as in Britain, for a good Painter, by the best Judges." –*Boston News Letter,* April 4, 1751.

Another European-trained artist who, like Smibert, was to end his days in the American Colonies is also represented for the first time in the Society's collections by a pair of portraits of Dr. and Mrs. Samuel Carne of Charleston, S. C., by Jeremiah Theüs (1719–1774). Theüs, a Swiss painter, advertised in the *South Carolina Gazette* under date of September 6, 1740: "Notice is hereby given, that Jeremiah Theus, Limner, is remov'd into the

* In its similarity of pose and technique it is close to Smibert's portrait of Mary Ann (Faneuil) Jones painted in the 1740's in the Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Market Square near M. John Laurens, Sadler, where all Gentlemen and Ladies may have their Pictures drawn, likewise landskips of all sizes, Crests and Coats of Arms for Coaches or Chaises. Likewise for the conveniency of those who live in the Country, he is willing to wait on them at their respective Plantations." His success in his profession, like Smibert's, is attested to by the numerous works that have survived the destruction occasioned by the War between the States and is hinted at in the obituary of 1774 in which he is described as "a very ingenuous and honest man, who had followed the business of a Portrait-painter here upwards of Thirty years."—*South Carolina Gazette*, May 23, 1774.

The half-length portraits of Dr. Carne, an exponent of inoculation for smallpox in Charleston, S. C., in red coat and white brocaded waistcoat, and of his wife, Catharine Bond, of Howcaw Plantation, Christ Church Parish, in a lace-trimmed saffron gown with gray silk bowknot and scarf, jewelled with pearls and sporting a sprig of orange blossoms in her hair, are reminiscent of the cultured life which one might find in urban America in the era preceding the Revolution. Formerly on loan at the Maryland Historical Society, they are recorded by Anna Wells Rutledge in "Portraits Painted Before 1900 In the Collections of the Maryland Historical Society" appearing in Volume XLI, Number 1, of that Society's publication.

This group of eight portraits enriches the Society's memorable collection of portraiture and broadens its interpretation of life in Colonial America, for in the words of the old Chinese proverb "one picture is worth a thousand words."

GOLD AND SILVER IN THE PRENTIS COLLECTION

by John Marshall Phillips

THE GOLD AND SILVER collections of The New-York Historical Society have been greatly enriched by the recent gift of four rare items from Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy and her brother Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis.

Earliest in point of time is an early 17th-century Rhenish stoneware jug of mottled purple glaze, "garnished" with silver mounts. The domed metal cover, decorated with chased and repoussé portrait medallions and swags of fruit, is surmounted by a turned finial, and has a shell-shaped thumbpiece. The neck band and foot are treated with stamped ornament of conventional design and are further enriched by an engraved foliated band. On the handle mount appears in contemporary engraving the date 1641 and the initials CF and VB with a coat of arms, which suggests that it might have been a bridal gift in that year. Such jugs achieved great popularity in Queen Elizabeth's reign and are referred to by William Harrison in his notation: "As for drink, it is usually filled in pots, goblets, jugs, bowls of silver in noblemen's houses: also in fine Venetian glasses of all forms, and for want of these elsewhere, in pots of sundry colours and moulds whereof many are garnished with silver." One such silver-mounted pottery jug crossed the Atlantic over three hundred years ago to Massachusetts as part of the household goods of Governor John Winthrop and today forms a part of the Collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

Later in the century and particularly in the years following the restoration of the monarchy, small two-handled cups for hot drink came into fashion in both England and the American Colonies. The most popular of these beverages was caudle, a warm drink composed of a thin gruel mixed with wine or ale and

RHENISH STONEWARE JUG WITH SILVER MOUNTS

Engraved CF and VB, 1641

Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1951

SILVER CAUDLE CUP

Made by Joseph Stokes, London, 1699/1700

Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy, 1950

sweetened and spiced. Another was lamb's wool—a beverage of ale, mixed with sugar, nutmeg, and the pulp of roasted apples. Many of these vessels during the period 1697–1720, when the silver of Britannia standard was enforced to prevent a silver famine for currency, are decorated with gadrooned and fluted bands in low relief enriched with a band of stamped ornament reminiscent of tooled leather. The caudle cup presented by Mrs. Murphy bears the London hallmark for 1699/1700 and the maker's mark ST in a heart for Joseph Stokes whose mark was entered at Goldsmith's Hall, London, in 1697. Engraved on the front are unidentified impaled arms and crest, added at a later date. The cup is very similar in shape and decoration to several fashioned at Boston by William Cowell, Sr. (1682–1736), who seemed to specialize in cups of this design in the period 1703–1710.

Of particular interest to New Yorkers are the rare gold fork

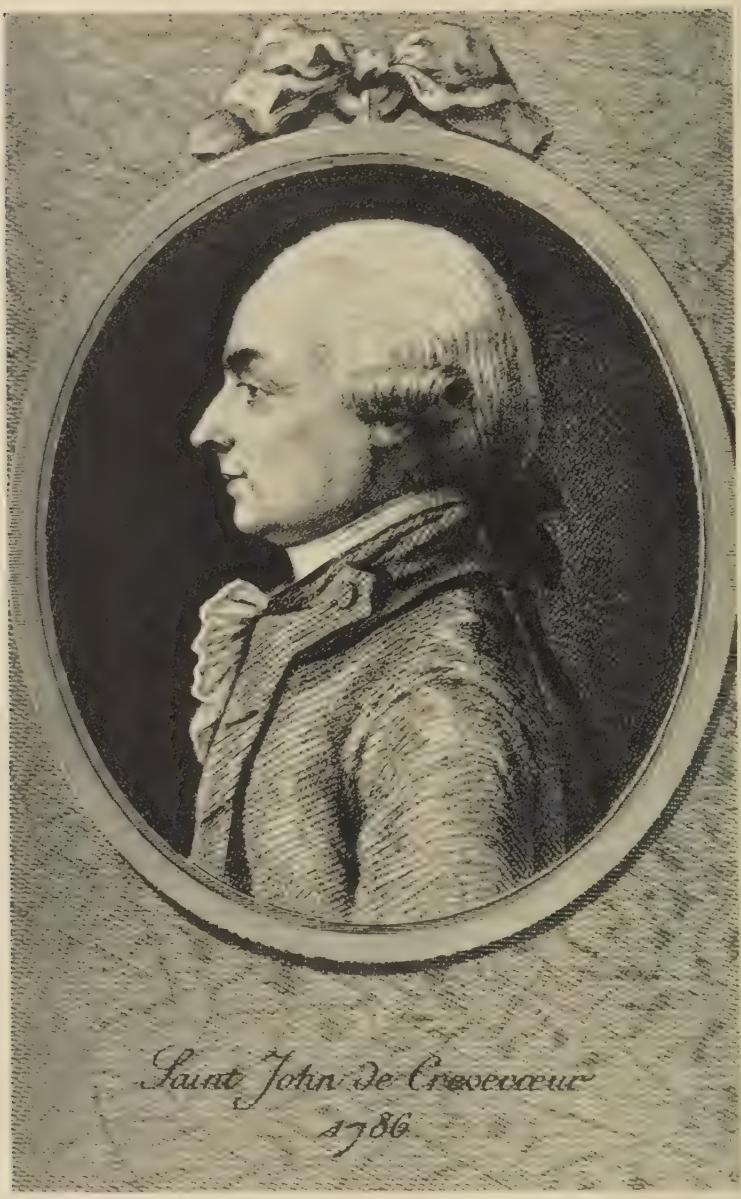
GOLD FORK AND SPOON INSCRIBED I. C. F.
[Reproduction nearly one-fifth larger than the originals]

Made by William G. Forbes (mark shown inset), New York, 18th century

Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, 1950

and spoon dating from the last quarter of the 18th century and fashioned by William G. Forbes of New York City. The handle tip terminating in a triangular point is reminiscent of the wavy-end spoon popular at the beginning of the 18th century. Engraved on the front is the script monogram I.C.F. and stamped on the reverse the maker's mark, W G Forbes in a rectangle. The small size (fork 4″; spoon 4 7/8″) and the existence of two matching forks and spoons from the same set (Collection of Mrs. Edsel Ford) would suggest that they were intended for some exotic dessert of Federal New York. Unfortunately the identity of the original owners is still a mystery. Forbes was admitted as a Freeman in New York City in 1773, is listed as a member of the Gold and Silversmiths Society in 1786, at which time he plied his trade at 88 Broadway.

Gold spoons and forks of the 18th century by American craftsmen are extremely rare, the forks by Forbes being unique; the only other known spoons comprise a pap spoon with bells by Jacobus van der Spiegel (1668–1708) and a set of teaspoons with matching skimmer by Simeon Soumain (1685–*c.* 1750), all in the Mabel Brady Garvan Collection at Yale University. It is particularly fitting that these exquisite examples of Forbes' skill as a worker in the precious metals should be added by Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis, whose earlier gift of a rare inscribed spoon by Jesse Kip of the previous century is described in Volume XXXIV, Number 4, of the Society's *Quarterly*, as a testimony to the skill of the New York goldsmith from the Colonial to the Federal era.



MICHEL-GUILLAUME JEAN DE CRÈVECOEUR (1735–1813)
Author: *Letter from an American Farmer* "by J. Hector St. John" (1782)
First French Consul at New York, 1783–1790

Engraving by L. Massard, frontispiece in Robert Crèvecoeur's *Saint John De Crèvecoeur, Sa Vie et Ses Ouvrage (1735–1813)*, Paris: 1883

CRÈVECOEUR AND THE FIRST FRANCO-AMERICAN PACKET LINE

by Léon Rey*

Translated and edited by Kent Forster†

EVEN BEFORE the American War [of Independence] was terminated the [French Minister of Marine], Maréchal de Castries, entertained the highest hopes for the future of French commerce with the United States.[1] Sharing in the illusions of many, he was persuaded that with the peace the new nation would not fail to offer [French] industry a market of considerable size, since war destruction had been widespread and American manufacturers were not in a position to satisfy the demands of their country. How could one foresee that [France's] allies would turn toward England for that large share of imports from Europe when France, having assisted in the establishment of American political independence, was ready to participate in [American] economic reconstruction? Nevertheless, to avoid this danger it was important to afford French commerce an opportunity to combat successfully the long-established customs which bound England to the New World. Because of this, and without doubt also because of the desire to communicate more

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† Dr. Forster, Associate Professor of European History at the Pennsylvania State College, translated and edited this article at the suggestion of the author. He has made no deletions and only such rearrangements—and those wholly within paragraphs—as were needed to facilitate translation. Only the bracketed material is the editor's. The footnotes, though renumbered, are the author's.

[1] The Maréchal de Castries on October 14, 1780, had succeeded M. de Sartines. He held the Marine portfolio until August 23, 1787.

regularly with officers of the [French] Crown, the idea of creating a permanent line of packet-boats between France and the United States occurred to the Maréchal.

By the word packet-boat, or more exactly "pack-boat," was meant in this era any vessel charged with carrying mail. For some time the Chamber of Commerce of Marseilles maintained several ships which, under this designation, assured the transport of correspondence to the ports of the Levant[2] and, beginning in the year 1778, a certain Lagarosse had established a regular service of packet-boats between Bordeaux and the West Indies, while another line linked Lorient with the colonies beyond the Cape of Good Hope.[3] In addition, the plan to operate packet-boats between France and America was not new. On April 27, 1779, an American, Joseph Gridley, living in Nantes and making use of Franklin's name, submitted to the Comte de Vergennes [Minister for Foreign Affairs] a proposal for a line of which he was willing to take charge since he had hopes of being named the [American] consul [at Nantes]. M. de Vergennes communicated with M. de Sartines, but the Minister of Marine did not believe it timely to pursue the matter.[4] Four years later, more fortunate than Mr. Gridley, M. de Crèvecoeur, chargé of the French consulate in New York, possessed at that place offices for the new enterprise.

Michel-Guillaume de Crèvecoeur, called Saint Jean de Crèvecoeur, born at Caen, January 31, 1735, was descended from a family of the robe of long standing in Normandy. His grand-

[2] Paul Masson, *Histoire du Commerce Francais dans le Levant au dix-huitième siècle* (Paris: 1911), 50.

[3] Departures took place on the first of each month from Bordeaux for Sainte Domingue; on the fifteenth for Cayenne, Martinique, St. Lucia, Guadeloupe, and Marie Galande. There were two departures annually for the colonies beyond Cape of Good Hope.—*Arch. Nat.* [National Archives of France], *Marine*, D[1] 31.

[4] On May 22d M. de Sartines wrote to Mr. Gridley: "This matter depends upon the decision which you await from Congress with regard to your appointment as consul at Nantes and on the interest which it takes in this establishment. I will wait until you are able to give me the necessary clarifications."—*Arch. Nat., Marine*, D[1] 31. As a matter of fact Congress at this time had other worries. There was no American consul at Nantes before 1790 and it was Sir Burrell Carnes who fulfilled the functions. —*Arch. Nat., Aff[aires] Etr[angères]*, B[1] 910, fol. 308.

father and two uncles had held councillors' seats in the Bailiwick of Caen, and one of his kinsmen, M. de L'Isle, was at that time serving as lieutenant-general. These were noblemen with all the qualities of the common folk, very attached to their province and little inclined to leave it. In the peace of their honorable but not brilliant careers they opposed the very active life of the man who was to bring a new lustre to the family name, which has descended to our day and whose bearers have never ceased to serve their country. In the excellent biography of his grandfather [Saint Jean de Crèvecoeur] which he wrote in 1883, M. Robert de Crèvecoeur recounted how, having embarked for Canada and become an officer in the Régiment de la Sarre, Crèvecoeur took part in the campaigns of 1758–59. Later he devoted himself to farming two estates on which he had settled, one in Orange County and the other in Sussex County, New York, and where he had married a young lady of the region, Miss Mehetable Tippet. After several trips about the American continent he returned to France accompanied by his son Ally. On August 2, 1781, after a 27-year absence, he returned to his father in Normandy at Pierpont, a village in the canton of Creully near Caen and, in 1783, thanks to the sponsorship of Mme. d'Houdetot, he obtained from the Maréchal de Castries an appointment as consul in New York. The diligence with which he fulfilled the duties of this newly created position was manifested especially in connection with the functioning of maritime communications. "On entering this office," he wrote on February 15, 1792, to M. de Bertrand,[5] recounting the services which he had rendered, "I proposed and secured the agreement of the Ministry to the establishment of six packet-boats between Lorient and New York, which provided the first regular commercial contacts between the two countries and which I supervised in the capacity of director without salary."[6] Although we do not have other evidence of the role which

[5] M. Bertrand de Molleville was Minister of Marine from October 2, 1791, to March 14, 1792.

[6] *Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, B[1] 910, fol. 361.

he played in this undertaking, the ardor with which he fulfilled the functions entrusted to him, the zeal which he showed in maintaining the new establishment in spite of all troubles, and the chagrin he displayed at the time the service was terminated indicate that Saint Jean de Crèvecoeur was really its father.[7]

The New York packet-boat line was established June 28, 1783, that is to say, a little more than two months before the signing of the Treat[ies] of Versailles [and Paris which definitively ended the War of American Independence]. The Council's order which bears this date authorized a departure from Port-Louis [near Lorient] on Tuesday of the third week of each month beginning in September. Six vessels were deemed sufficient for the chain. Mail, that is to say both letters and packages sent by post, passengers and their personal baggage were to be shipped on them. On the other hand, "no merchandise or goods in casks" could be loaded, but the transport of manufactures, men and women's clothing, bottled liquors and wines, and other luxury items were permitted. Article 3 stipulated that "the staff of said packet-boats" would "be composed of officers in the King's service" and that the crews would accordingly "be payed by His Majesty." Article 4 announced that "Lord Le Couteulx" had "been named to direct and supervise the provisioning" and all else pertaining "to the dispatch of the packet-boats"; and placed him under the orders of the Secretary of State in charge of the

[7] After a sojourn of seven years in New York, interrupted by one long leave, M. Crèvecoeur found himself in France at the time of the Revolution. He then resigned his duties and devoted himself entirely to his family. He was the father-in-law of M. Otto who was chargé d'affaires to the United States, then Minister of State under the Empire. Death overtook him November 12, 1813. He left several works among which *Les Lettres d'un Cultivateur* (1784) and *Le Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie* (1801) attracted public attention in their time. The voluminous correspondence of M. de Crèvecoeur which exists in different places, despite all the interest which it affords, has not yet been published collectively. The letters to which allusion is made here are addressed to Baron de Breteuil, to the Maréchal de Castries, and to M. Le Couteulx de la Noraye.

[For an account of the trials and tribulations of the French consulate at New York a few years after Crèvecoeur left, see: "The Hauterive Journal" (1793) by Frances S. Childs in *NYHS Quarterly*, April 1949, 69–86; and "Three Papers Pertaining to the Genet Affair" by Roger L. Williams, *ibid.*, April 1949, 87–95.]

Department of Marine. Finally, Article 5 gave notice of a forthcoming schedule for mail and tariff rates for authorized merchandise.[8] Thus for the first time the King [of France] became a shipowner, M. Le Couteulx only being his manager in charge of the administration and financing of the business. But this innovation was not the only one. In contrast to other packet-boats, those of the New York line were not reserved exclusively for the transport of private letters and official dispatches, but accepted passengers and merchandise, so that indeed one can see in this undertaking the true prototype of our transatlantic services.

[Of the six vessels ultimately to comprise the packet-boat fleet] the *Warwick* was to have sailed first, but this vessel did not have the desired accommodations (it was criticized chiefly for having only one deck), so it was decided that the *Serin* [soon to be renamed *Courrier de l'Europe*], being the most spacious of the vessels and the most likely to make a good impression, would take its place.[9] Its departure, at first fixed for September 15th [1783], took place on the 18th without any ceremony. It constituted an historical event, certainly, but contemporaries did not so view it; the action passed unnoticed and still remains ignored, which seems even more strange since the documents have not been destroyed. The crew rolls, among other documents, afford us valuable information on this first trip of the *Courrier de l'Europe*. The staff was composed of four officers: Cornic du Moulin, commander, fifty years of age, an excellent seaman who had distinguished himself in the Battle of Ushant; M. de Rougemont, second officer (and consequently officer of detail), of whom a confidential estimate that he had little experience is corroborated by the fact of his twenty-two years; M. de Pennarun, the third officer, twenty and full of energy; and M. Decourt, the surgeon. A volunteer officer, Louis-Francois-Benjamin Tuvache (relative

[8] This schedule was published July 5, 1783. It announced that letters and packets destined for New York should be deposited in the postal bureaux and that they would be subject to a first charge as far as Lorient and a supplementary tax from Lorient to New York.

[9] In the course of the voyage her name was changed to *Courrier de l'Europe*.

no doubt of the commander of the unfortunate *Courrier de Port-Louis*), of Rouen, six barge officers, three topmen and steersmen, twenty-two sailors, four supernumeraries, and four cabin boys completed the crew. The passengers at the captain's table were the following: M. Saint Jean de Crèvecoeur, French consul at New York, accompanied by MM. Lefèvre and Varin[10]; M. Martin Oster, French vice-consul in Virginia, and his wife née Maréchal (thirty-five years old), M. Staster, plenipotentiary "in charge of a definitive treaty with the Americans," all sailing at the expense of the Crown; and Adelaide Douglas, chambermaid to Mme. Oster. We know that the *Courrier de l'Europe* possessed one large room (it was not called a cabin then) which was later divided at New York into two parts when the Count de Broglio and his wife embarked for France, but it is probable that there were several other smaller ones and that M. and Mme. Oster had one of their own. I am inclined to believe that the wife of this consul was not in good health. The voyage was long and difficult. Here is M. Oster's report of it to the Maréchal de Castries:

Your Lordship,

I have the honor of informing you that after sixty-two days of sailing, the King's packetboat "le Courrier de l'Europe" on which you had the kindness to provide me with passage has arrived safely in New York on the 19th of this month[11] and that the crossing has been difficult as well as dangerous because of the gales without number that were suffered and which wrecked ten or twelve French merchantmen on the coast.

I must speak to you here, My Lord, of the worth of M. Cornic du Moulin, commanding "le Courrier de l'Europe," who conducted himself during the crossing with all the prudence and sagacity of the most able seaman and that if "le Courrier de l'Europe" survives we are indebted only to his care, vigilance, abilities and experience. M. de Crèvecoeur and M. Cornic intend to have the honor of rendering to you a detailed account of the voyage including some of the obstacles which had to be surmounted. I will confine myself to pointing out to you that having a poor crew was the chief difficulty because it comprised only two men capable of commanding while a large part of the rest were confined to their bunks, afflicted with venereal disease. Indeed it would be desirable,

[10] M. Lefèvre was to function in New York as chancellor of the consulate.
[11] November 19, 1783.

My Lord, for the good of the service and humanity that no sailor embark who has previously not been inspected.[12]

The vessel was to have put in at Philadelphia but, winds from the northwest having twice driven it from the entrance to Delaware Bay, M. de Crèvecoeur gave the order to make for the New York headland. The English had not yet evacuated the city. M. de Crèvecoeur, who had left America three years before, had scarcely debarked on November 20th than he learned that during his absence his wife had died, his house had been destroyed, and his children scattered.[13] In spite of this terrible blow he took up his work and, as we shall see, devoted part of his untiring activity to the operation of the packet-boats.

But first permit me to give some details on the establishment of our consuls in America. I can do no better than quote from a letter written in February 1788 by M. de la Forest, at that time consul general in New York, in answer to questions put to him on this subject by the Comte de Moustiers, French chargé d'affaires to the United States:

The commercial relations of the United States with France *[writes M. de la Forest]*, had become very active in spite of the prizes taken by English cruisers when M. Gerard arrived in Philadelphia. This Minister Plenipotentiary had received from His Majesty provision for a consul general to the United States and was authorized to establish officers in the principal ports pending permanent arrangements. Accordingly he conferred four temporary consul commissions. They were those of M. Plombard, for South Carolina, of M. d'Aumours for Maryland, of M. Holker for Pennsylvania, and of M. Valmais for Massachusetts.

In 1781 His Majesty decided to divide the thirteen states into three departments and to place at the head of each a consul general and vice consul, to wit:

M. de l'Etombe for the four states of New England, M. Holker for the four central states, and M. d'Aumours for the five southern states. The other officers were eliminated; New York, Savannah, Charleston, Wilmington, and lower Virginia were then held by the English and the only frequented ports were those of New England, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. However, the fortunate developments of the American War and the

[12] Philadelphia, November 30, 1783.—*Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, B[1] 927, fol. 11.
[13] *Arch. Nat.*, O[1] 596.

definite peace treaty in September 1783 opened successively all the ports of the United States. Three consuls were not sufficient. The employment of both a consul and vice-consul at the same residence was no longer practical.[14]

It was necessary to make a new arrangement, recorded in a letter which the Maréchal de Castries wrote on August 24, 1783, to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, which was to be consummated by the creation of a consulate general first headed by M. de Marbois.[15] When M. de Crèvecoeur arrived at New York in November 1783 the consular situation was as follows:

1st Department:
- (a) Massachusetts, M. de Létombe, consul at Boston.
- (b) New Hampshire, M. Toscan, vice-consul at Portsmouth, not yet arrived.
- (c) Rhode Island, M. Pierre-Francois Barbé de Marbois, known as Marbois the Younger.

2d Department:
Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, M. de Crevècoeur, consul at New York.

3d Department:
- (a) Maryland, M. Adrien Le Paulmier, Chevalier d'Aumours, consul at Baltimore.
- (b) Virginia, M. Oster, vice-consul at Richmond.

4th Department:
- (a) South Carolina, consul at Charleston not yet assigned.
- (b) North Carolina, vice-consul at Wilmington not yet assigned.
- (c) Georgia, M. de la Forest, vice-consul at Savannah, not yet arrived.

The states of Pennsylvania and Delaware were reunited under a consulate general whose incumbent, M. de Marbois, resided in Philadelphia.[16] This time the list of officers seemed definite and on

[14] *Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, B[1] 910.

[15] Before and during the war, the chargé d'affaires had fulfilled the functions of consul general. Anne César, Chevalier de la Luzerne, born in Paris in 1741, arrived as chargé d'affaires in the United States in 1779. Previously he had been envoy to the Bavarian Court (1776). Back in France in 1784, he became Ambassador to London (1788) where he died September 14, 1791.

[16] Francois Barbé de Marbois, councillor in the Metz Parlement, old tutor of the children of the Maréchal de Castries, appointed in 1785 intendant to Sainte Domingue,

January 10, 1784, M. de Marbois could write to the Ministry [of Marine] of his intention of going to Annapolis where the Congress was sitting in order to discuss with that assembly arrangements concerning the new distribution of consulates.[17] One year later the same M. de Marbois, still consul general and performing in addition the functions of chargé d'affaires since the departure of the Chevalier de la Luzerne,[18] settled in New York where Congress, having just left Trenton [upon the conclusion of the session commencing there in November 1784], was now holding its sessions while awaiting the construction of a new federal capital.[19] M. de Crèvecoeur experienced keen satisfaction over the arrival of the consul general in whom he had the greatest confidence, considering him a very reliable adviser capable of directing the first moves in a career totally new and beset with pitfalls.[20] More than once, no doubt, M. de Marbois had to temper his subordinate's ardor and passion which run through his correspondence to the point of sometimes rendering it confused with its profusion and prolixity. However, in spite of all this confusion and rambling, the letters of Crèvecoeur breathe so much of his life it is easy to single out its principal interest, and this interest, at least during the first five years of his consulship, was without doubt the establishment of the packet-boats.

I have already spoken of the [French] Council's Order of June 28, 1783, actually a constitutional charter, supplemented by the ruling of July 5, 1783, on mail and merchandise. *Les Instructions pour la direction et la régie des paquebots établis pour aller de*

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became Minister of the Treasury under the Empire [and participated in the sale of Louisiana in 1803].

[17] *Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, B[1] 946, fol. 3.

[18] The Chevalier left Philadelphia and America at the beginning of July 1784.

[19] Which was to be Washington.

[20] The Chevalier de Corberon, who when passing through Dresden made the acquaintance of M. de Marbois, retained the impression of a man "honest and genteel." -Labande, *Journal Intime*, I: 48. In the month of June 1785, having been appointed intendant to Sainte Domingue, he was replaced as consul general by M. de la Forest, while M. Otto, former secretary of M. de la Luzerne and future son-in-law of M. de Crèvecoeur, became chargé d'affaires in the interim.

l'Orient à L'Amérique Septentrionale complete for us the instructions on the organization and functioning of this novel undertaking. This [manuscript] document, with whose printed text I am not acquainted, includes twenty-five articles.[21] The first indicates very clearly for what essentials the six vessels which were going to sail the Atlantic were to be answerable. Here is what one reads in it:

> The purpose of the establishment created by the King for intercourse between France and America is to augment there the consumption of our manufactured articles by accurate and frequent reports and by a larger facility for the American inhabitant to secure for himself from the city at nearly fixed periods the articles which he desires.

Article 2 concerns reports on the management of the packet-boats at Lorient, with which M. Mazios was charged, and with the administration at Paris under M. Le Couteulx. Under Article 3, the packet-boats were to be readied and fitted out for their first sailing under the supervision of the Commandant of Marine and the Commissioner General for Ports and Arsenals at Lorient, from whom the packet-boat management was to accept delivery of each vessel accompanied by a manifest made out in triplicate.[22] The same article specified the personnel: a captain, a second officer, a third officer, a volunteer officer, a surgeon, a first and second mate, a quartermaster, carpenter, sailmaker, caulker, twenty-five sailors, six cabin boys, a cooper, cook, and baker. Article 7 authorized the captain on each voyage to suspend any subordinate with whom he was not completely satisfied and to ask for the offender's discharge, provided only that he keep the packet-boat management and its Paris administration informed of whatever such action he might take. Article 8 further provided that:

> For the enlistment and replacement of their crews the captains will be in charge of choosing and presenting the sailors and marine officers whom they wish to have; and, on their request, an order from the Classification Bureau for their procurement will be expedited. For want of sailors

[21] *Arch. Nat., Marine*, D[1] 31.

[22] The first copy for the Royal storehouse, the second for the management, and the third to remain aboard the vessel.

selected by the captains, personnel will be drafted, the captains retaining the authority to reject sailors whom they cannot accept.

It was decided that the third officer's place on the packet-boats would be given to a travelling merchant deserving this employment and that no officer could aspire to the command of a packet-boat if he had not already served as second officer on these same voyages.[23] Article 11 includes instructions for the excise-office inspector regarding permission for loading merchandise "Conforming to the General and Public Law of June 28 and Article 1 of these instructions." The tariff on merchandise was set by Article 12 at 120 livres [30 dollars] per ton of 2,000 pounds weight or per 42 cubic feet bulk, and passenger fares at 200 to 500 livres (50 to 125 dollars), depending on the class—first class passengers to eat at the captain's table, second class to receive the ordinary shipboard ration, and neither class to be permitted to embark without a permit issued by the excise-office inspector specifying the cabin number.[24] The pouch or pouches containing the mail were to be delivered in bound boxes sealed with the Royal Arms. Their protection was to be assured by the requirement that they be placed aboard in a "dry and safe" place. It seems that this decision was taken after the first trip of the *Courrier de L'Europe*. On the arrival of this packet-boat, which as an exception had sailed from Brest, it was discovered that seven letters had been eaten by rats.[25]

As for provisions during both the voyages and the periods of refitting, the packet-boats were furnished from the storehouses of the provision department at Lorient. Provisions consisted of flour, fresh bread, biscuits, ordinary Bordeaux wine, Saintonge wine, d'Oléron wine, brandy, fresh beef, salted bacon, salted beef, codfish, cheeses, rice, peas, beans, stringbeans, lentils, eight or ten sheep, fifty to seventy chickens, corn and hay.[26]

[23] This meant that the posts of captain and second officer were reserved principally for officers of the Royal Navy.

[24] Servants of passengers ate in the galley. Their passage cost 200 livres [50 dollars].

[25] *Arch. Nat., Marine* D[1] 33.

[26] *Ibidem.*

The departure of each packet-boat was announced by posters which the town drummer of Lorient was responsible for pasting on the walls. On returning, the lookout signalled ahead the arrival of the vessel, whereupon the port generally sent out a pilot.

The fleet was composed first of five then of six vessels, which left for their first trips in the following order:

(1) September 18, 1783: The *Serin*, renamed en route *Courrier de l'Europe*.
(2) October 15, 1783: The *Courrier de l'Amérique*.
(3) November 21, 1783: The *Courrier de Port-Louis*.
(4) December 15, 16, or 17, 1783: *L'Alligator*, later named the *Courrier de New-York*.
(5) January 19, 1784: The *Courrier de Lorient*.
(6) February 16 or 17, 1784: The *Warwick*.

The *Courrier de Port-Louis*, having been wrecked on its first crossing, was replaced by *Le Sylphe*, which left Lorient March 16, 1784. In October of the same year the management placed in service *La Martinique*. These vessels, which had been altered to the needs of the service, were far from worthy and we shall see below the criticisms which M. de Crèvecoeur made of some of them. His first crossing on the *Courrier de l'Europe* had already occasioned several rather critical notations from his pen. The *Courrier de l'Amérique* which arrived in New York a month later (probably December 15, 1783), under command of the Chevalier d'Aboville, was certainly better fitted, but the crew of the unfortunate *Courrier de Port-Louis*, lost at sea on the night of January 19–20, 1784, was without doubt worth still less than that of the *Courrier de l'Europe*.[27] M. de Crèvecoeur writes:

If I had been able to stay longer at Versailles and if my elementary proposals had not been replaced with a more complicated system, I would not have to deplore the loss of this vessel which could have been avoided by a man with the slightest knowledge of this coast. Instead of real tars there were assigned as lieutenants silk-stocking gentlemen who definitely are not seamen. . . . Vessels destined to be continually at sea ought to be

[27] It was the first crossing of this vessel, at least in the New York service. It had left Lorient November 21st and Port-Louis the 22d.

manned by prudent, stout sailors, properly clothed and devoted to their ships. Those who have just been shipwrecked acted like knaves. They broke open the mail, robbed the captain, dishonored the nation.

And he adds:

It is said that the fifth vessel which is coming is still more badly equipped.[28] May God bring her through safely! I cannot understand how the officials at Lorient have been able without shuddering to dispatch in this cruel weather vessels of the King with crews that weep, refuse to work and tell all the world that they are not sailors.

The resulting misfortune proved to him several things: that the crews, instead of being chosen by the captains, were drafted at Lorient; that the sailors were not paid enough (they ought to have been given one louis [$4.50] per month); finally, that there was dissension between the packet-boat director and the officers—dissension which would never have occurred if M. Le Couteulx had named M. de Monistrol instead of M. Mazios.[29] As for the officers M. de Crèvecoeur does not spare them. If the captains were good seamen and for the most part men of experience (although two of them are very young[30]), the rest were worthless. One Vrignault, for example, surgeon on board the *Courrier de Port-Louis*, proved himself so incompetent at his task at the time of the wreck of that ship that the consul was obliged to summon an American physician to care for the injured. And what was there to be said for that Lieutenant Leroux, third officer aboard the *Courrier de New-York*, who on the 20th or 21st of July when the ship was still a fortnight from America attempted forcibly to enter the room of a lady passenger! M. de Crèvecoeur pleaded with M. Le Couteulx:

For the love of God, do not send us [as] officers these young men in silk stockings who wish only to meddle, who disdain learning English al-

[28] The *Courrier de Lorient* probably left January 19, 1784.

[29] Letter of February 12, 1784, to the Baron de Breteuil.—*Arch. Nat.*, O^1 596. Crèvecoeur reports here that he was obliged to enlist ten American sailors to aid those of the *Courrier de New-York* to anchor.

[30] M. de Jaubert, commander of *Le Courrier de New-York* was twenty-five, and M. Coetnempren, commanding *Le Courrier de Lorient* was twenty-eight or -nine.—*Arch. Nat.*, *Marine*, D^1 22.

though they have nothing to do for a number of weeks, who are not seamen, who are concerned only with their rank and not the packet-boats which they regard below them, and who are less seamen than I.[31]

Desertions of sailors were frequent. In January 1785 the French consul was obliged to complete the crew of *La Martinique* by enrolling four American sailors, and all this according to him was the fault of M. Le Couteulx.

> Influence and favoritism predominates aboard these vessels where the smallest pilot-boy and cabin-boy is there not because he is a good prospect but because he was recommended to M. Lecouteulx by some ladies.[32]

But not only were the crews defective [complained Crèvecoeur]; the packet-boats in general were too unwieldy.[33] Some of them had to be altered. The *Warwick* for example, which was to have inaugurated the line but had ceded its place to the *Courrier de l'Europe*, in spite of the improvements which it had received made such a bad initial crossing that it was passed en route by *Le Sylphe* departing from Lorient a month later. The *Warwick*, shallow, small, poorly navigated, arrived in New York after a seventy-six day crossing in a dangerous state of disablement, one of its masts broken, its shrouds nearly all broken, and short of food.[34] As for *Le Sylphe*, it afforded no conveniences for its passengers, being scarcely able to accommodate three let alone the fifteen normally assigned; the captain himself had no comforts.[35] In spite of all these protests by M. de Crèvecoeur, although *Le Sylphe* was altered, the management maintained the *Warwick* in service. On its third voyage this ship lost its rudder thirty leagues [ninety miles] from shore and had to be repaired at Newport.[36] Shortly before its departure from New York three passengers presented themselves but were scarcely aboard before they re-

[31] Letter of July 15, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Marine*, D^1 32.
[32] *Arch. Nat.*, B^1 909, fol. 19.
[33] Letter of February 12, 1785.—*Arch. Nat.*, O^1 596.
[34] Letter of August 1, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, B^1 909, fol. 9.
[35] Letter of M. de Grandchamp, May 20, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Marine*, D^1 33.
[36] Letter of May 19, 1785.—*Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, B^1 909, fol. 63.

fused to take passage on such a poor boat.[37] Finally, the management decided to abandon it. This happy but tardy decision was not the only one which M. Le Couteulx was persuaded by M. de Crèvecoeur to take. In the course of time the reforms which he carried out on the *Courrier de l'Europe* and *de l'Amérique* brought him the most emphatic—and most unexpected—compliment from the fiery consul:

> Vessels, officers, sailors—all are able and sound. The latter come ashore clean, decently dressed, without risk of deserting or of brawling in the town. I congratulate you on this change and on so useful and important an institution finally having received its last touch of perfection.[38]

On his part, M. de Crèvecoeur did not cease carrying out all possible improvements on his precious packet-boats. In an era when publicity hardly existed he recognized that the new venture could not prosper if it continued unknown to the public. The very day following the evacuation of the English troops—that is, November 26, 1783—he announced in the newspapers the establishment of this maritime line destined to "Cement with commercial bonds and mail facilities the mutual interests of the two countries" and began negotiations with the agent of the English packet-boats to avoid competition prejudicial to both. Flanders, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Holland had no other means of communicating and corresponding with America; still it was necessary [said Crèvecoeur] that these countries be made aware of this; even in France the existence of the packet-boats was too generally ignored and the large mail for New York ought never to leave Paris [he urged] without the public having been informed by the newspapers.[39]

Each time that a packet-boat reached New York, the Consul boarded and passed her in review. One day he indignantly described "The art with which the officers were deceived in the procurement of flour. The two ends of the barrel were filled with

[37] *Ibidem.*
[38] Letter of July 15, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Marine*, D[1] 32.
[39] *Ibidem.*

the best and the center contained only the mouldy" and, without thinking for a moment that the provisioning administration might object, he proposed to the Minister and to M. Le Couteulx the idea of provisioning the packet-boats in New York as something which would not only effect a great economy but would also improve the food.[40] Was it not also a scandal [he asked] that in the country of Franklin these ships still lacked lightning rods? Having already introduced this wonderful invention to Paris, Crèvecoeur was eager to have this equipment on the *Courrier de l'Europe*.[41]

Another preoccupation of our consul was the question of mail. In theory the packet-boats were supposed to receive all correspondence for America and we have already seen that in April 1784 postal authorities had made a convention with the administration on this matter, but in fact a great number of letters were forwarded either by merchant vessels or packet-boat passengers and M. de Crèvecoeur never ceased protesting against such abuses prejudicial to the undertaking.[42] As for correspondence which did go into the mail, here is how it was handled. Upon the arrival of the packet-boat, M. de Crèvecoeur sent a representative aboard. The latter, accompanied by one of the officers (I suppose the second officer), carried the mail to the New York post office. There the Royal Seal was broken in the presence of the postal director. The consul then claimed letters and dispatches addressed to the French minister at Philadelphia and letters to his colleagues—a practice which always gave rise to protests on the part of some of the [American] employees. To cut short their recriminations, M. de Crèvecoeur, who was always careful to remain on good terms with the American officials, proposed to M. Le Couteulx that the correspondence of the minister and consuls be placed in a designated box which would be carried not to the post office but to the

[40] Letter of August 1, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, B[1] 909, fol. 9.

[41] During his stay in Paris in 1782–1783, M. de Crèvecoeur had installed lightning rods on the Rochefoucauld, Beauvais, and La Fayette Hotels.—Letter of July 15, 1784, *Arch. Nat., Marine*, D[1] 32.

[42] *Ibidem.*

consulate from whence the correspondence would be expedited to its destinations by other means.[43] Postal rates were then extremely high. From Baltimore to New York, a distance of seventy-three leagues, a one-ounce letter[44] cost two thirds of an ounce of silver and the carrying of a pouch from New York to Philadelphia required nine pounds [thirty dollars].[45] Beginning in December 1783, however, Congress busied itself with the reorganization of the posts, whose administration had hardly been modified since the beginning of the 18th century.[46] As before the Revolution, mail was still sent by horse and was very irregular. Stagecoaches were hardly much better. It required from five to six days' riding from New York to Boston—and what a trip! The overnight stops at poor inns and especially the terrible roads persuaded M. de Crèvecoeur, when making a return trip to Boston in August 1784, to travel by sea.[47] The object of his trip was a visit to the dockyard of M. Peck who was in charge of the construction of the *Maréchal de Castries*, a packet-boat which was to be added to the New York line.[48] At the beginning of the year he had directed the attention of Baron de Breteuil to the advantages of M. Peck's new formula and on July 15, 1784, he again wrote to him:

My Lord,

The Maréchal de Castries has just accorded me a mark of confidence which flatters me no end. As a result of the ideas which I took the liberty of communicating to him some time ago on the subject of a new construction which affords to vessels greater speed and renders them in every respect stouter, he has just authorized me to have constructed along these principles a vessel which will replace the lost packet-boat.[49] I dare to hope that its beauty, soundness and especially speed will convince him and perhaps make him adopt the project which I so sincerely desire, namely the

[43] *Ibidem.*

[44] That is to say 30 grams.

[45] Letter of July 15, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Marine,* D^1 32.

[46] It was in 1710 that the English Parliament voted the first colonial law on the operation of the post. [Colonial Assemblies, however, had made earlier provisions for postal service.]

[47] Aforementioned letter.

[48] *Ibidem.*

[49] *Le Courrier de Port-Louis.*

introduction into the Royal Dock-Yards of this new naval architecture. It is more than four years ago that they learned it here and nothing on the sea can approach these vessels [*shortly to be known all over the world as "Yankee Clippers"*] which carry more sail, cargo, etc. If I can succeed in this project I believe I will have rendered a great service to a minister who seeks and desires the best."[50]

In reality, the great innovation of these vessels was the absence of all copper sheathing which permitted the use of certain indestructible woods; as for the rest, "save in their bottoms, they resembled others."[51] At first it had been decided that the rigging and the sails would be made in France but later, in order to avoid the expense of adjustments, it was decided that the American builder would be in charge of everything. His sail-making technique differed somewhat from ours in that it attached more importance to the billow than to the width of the sails, something which assured a much greater stability to these vessels.[52]

M. de Crèvecoeur returned to New York toward the end of October 1784, in any case definitely before November 4th, delighted with M. Peck about whom he had gathered all kinds of testimony, each more pleasing than the other. It was hoped at that time that the packet-boat could be launched in June 1785, but the winter was again very severe and retarded the work. It was resumed intensively in May.[53] In January the Chevalier d'Aboville who had earlier commanded the *Courrier d'Amérique* had arrived to take command of the new packet-boat, to pay for which credit had been established at the Morris Bank in Philadelphia. But there were new delays and it did not appear that the *Maréchal de Castries* would make its first crossing before October 1785.[54] By this date M. de Crèvecoeur had been back in France three months. His chancellor, M. Lefèvre des Barres, remaining in New York, assumed responsibility for the current business of

[50] Letter of July 15, 1784.—*Arch. Nat.*, O^1 597.

[51] Letter of July 15, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Marine*, D^1 32.

[52] Letters of August 1 and November 16, 1784.—*Arch. Nat.*, B^1 909, fol. 9, and O^1 597.

[53] Letter of November 14, 1784. *Arch. Nat., Marine*, D^1 32. Letter of May 19, 1785. —*Idem., Aff. Etr.*, B^1 909, fol. 59.

[54] *Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, B^1 209, fol. 470.

the packet-boats.[55] Otherwise the establishment was nearly at its peak and seems to have functioned normally for some time. At least if there were difficulties, we are not informed of them, while we are well informed about those which M. de Crèvecoeur experienced from his arrival in New York until June 17, 1785, when he departed on leave.

The loss of the *Courrier de Port-Louis* caused him the first serious anxiety. He was lavish to the shipwrecked, especially to Captain Tuvache who was very seriously hurt in the legs and feet.[56] The catastrophe occurred on the night of January 19–20, 1784, and at the end of March the vessel was still surrounded by so much ice that it could not be reached. Much of the cargo remained aboard and later M. de Crèvecoeur was able to save a part, which he had sold at auction.[57] He writes to M. Le Couteulx:

> I have been obliged, not having any funds, to use this money in meeting the considerable expenses which have necessarily accompanied the needs, illnesses, frightful wounds, the clothing, the warming, the feeding of so many unfortunates. I have treated them with as much kindness as though they were all my brothers and I trust that the ministry will not criticize me for it. The severity of the season, the extreme rigor of the weather, the great distance from New York, the increasing number of agents sent to determine of what they have need, the purchase of linen for dressings, of beds, mattresses, bedding and especially the ineptitude of the ship's surgeon[58] (which necessitated my sending from here one of the more able ones), such are the reasons which have nearly doubled expenses.[59]

Another affair sometime later was to cause him more sorrow. On October 25, 1784, the *Postillon Royal*, Captain Charles-François Paquet, of the port of Rouen, left Santo Domingo for Marseilles having aboard two passengers of note, the Comte and Comtesse de Broglie.[60] Two days later, October 27, in a heavy and

[55] Letter of November 16, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, O^1 597. Letter of March 17, 1785. *Idem., Aff. Etr.*, B^1 909, fol. 47. The consulate was then managed by M. de La Forest.

[56] Captain Tuvache like most of the survivors returned to France aboard the *Courrier de New-York*, leaving New York March 20, 1784.

[57] The cargo comprised eighteen cases of wine, two mail pouches, four boxes of cloth and wares, a trunk of silk stuffs, and a bale of hosiery. *Arch. Nat., Marine*, D^1 33.

[58] M. Vrignault.

[59] Letter of July 15, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Marine*, D^1 32.

[60] The Comte de Broglie, brother of Maréchal de Broglie, was known for his bad

stormy sea the ship struck hard the reefs of the Little Caique. Very fortunately toward eight o'clock in the morning, having run up her flag, she was able by firing a gun to attract the attention of an American sloop named the *Active*, Captain Burkett, which was willing to take aboard the crew and passengers of the *Postillon Royal* whose cargo, however, did not wait long to be pillaged by pirates. After twenty-six days of travel the shipwrecked company landed at Providence and on November 28th M. Toscan, the French vice-consul, wrote from that city to M. de Crèvecoeur begging him to reserve passage on the next packet-boat leaving for France for the Count and Countess who were travelling with a waiting-maid.[61] On December 2d the Boston consul, M. de Létombe, addressed a similar request to M. de Crèvecoeur, adding: "These are refugees who merit your attention and your delicate condolence."[62] When one addressed himself in such a manner to M. de Crèvecoeur, he was sure to be heard. The *Courrier de l'Europe*, in port since November 15th, must not be late departing. The French consul hastened aboard to take the proper measures to afford satisfaction to the travellers. Indeed, the large cabin of the vessel was divided into two parts. In the first was placed a stove, in the second twin beds; moreover Commander Cornic procured whatever seemed to him necessary to make comfortable a crossing which winter weather could render painful. What was his astonishment upon learning shortly before the departure of the packet-boat that the Comte de Broglie had changed his mind! It was right that the latter should pay for the expenses caused by his actions, but not recognizing this and piqued at the consulate's audacity in having claimed payment from him, the Comte showed his displeasure with the consul by

character. In 1779 he brought suit against Abbé Georgel in the Parlement charging him with having prevented him, by intrigues, from being named quarter-master of the Army of Flanders.

[61] According to the record compiled by M. F. Barthélemy, performing the functions of chancellor of the French consulate at Boston, November 25, 1784.—*Arch. Nat.*, *Aff. Etr.*, B[1] 209, fol. 342. Captain Burkett was very generous toward the refugees, although they consumed not only all his provisions but also an entire case of liqueurs and six cases of oranges which were part of the cargo.—*Idem.*, fol. 373.

[62] *Arch. Nat.*, O[1] 596 and *Aff. Etr.*, B[1] 909, fol. 52 and following.

rejecting the lodgings which M. de Crèvecoeur had reserved, as fitting for such illustrious travellers, at the house which the Dutch ambassador had just vacated. The poor consul was left to pay all the costs. It was a hard lesson. "Henceforth," he writes, "whatever nobleman comes, I will do nothing extraordinary."[63]

A little later an affair of another kind, although also related to the packet-boats, brought new troubles to their director. In the month of April, Sunday the 17th, M. de Veaux, commanding the *Courrier de New-York*, invited aboard several people from the city. Toward six o'clock in the evening, as he accompanied his guests ashore, his barge after having been bumped by a small English vessel was, on arriving at the quay, struck by a hail of stones. The next day M. de Crèvecoeur addressed to [George Clinton] the Governor of New York a strong protest—following which thirteen persons were imprisoned. The incident is without great importance except as proving the existence of a cabal created by the Tories with the obvious objective of sowing discord between the French and Americans.

I have mentioned these facts as the most picturesque. There were others and the reader who has the curiosity to peruse the letters of M. de Crèvecoeur will be convinced without doubt that the New York directorship, far from being a sinecure, weighed heavily on our consul's budget. He was in fact obliged to pay from his own purse the postage of letters and packets addressed to him from all the states by correspondents more or less familiar [who expected him to forward their mail for them] and for which it was often difficult for him to secure reimbursement.[64] The details involved in the refitting, the provisioning, and the numerous other needs of the vessels absorbed much time.[65] For the commis-

[63] Letter of March 19, 1785.—*Arch. Nat.*, O^1 596. The Comte de Broglie and his wife left New York March 24, 1785, aboard the *Courrier de Lorient*.

[64] Letter of August 7, 1784.—*Arch. Nat.*, O^1 597. On September 9, 1785, M. de La Forest, who replaced M. de Crèvecoeur when on leave, estimated at a thousand livres [two hundred fifty dollars] a year the charges which the consul at New York had to pay for letters and packets which it was requested he mail. To correct the situation M. de La Forest proposed that this expense be carried quarterly on the accounts of the packet-boats.—*Arch. Nat., Aff. Etr.*, B^1 909, fol. 72.

[65] Letter of August 7, 1784.—*Arch. Nat.*, O^1 597.

sions and the bookkeeping a young man who was paid two piastres (two dollars) a day (the price of a mason or carpenter) soon became indispensable.[96] Moreover, before a special credit for six thousand livres [fifteen hundred dollars] was established in his favor at the Morris Bank in Philadelphia, it was necessary [for Crèvecoeur] to finance [as best he could] the sometimes very heavy repairs of certain packet-boats, such as those of the *Warwick*. All this meant expense, so much the greater since living in New York was then extremely costly. Many houses had been destroyed during the war and it was difficult to secure lodging. For two poor unfurnished rooms M. de Crèvecoeur paid twenty-five pounds [eighty-three dollars] rent, that is to say, nearly as much as M. de Létombe, the French consul at Boston who occupied a large house with garden, front court, and carriage house. Furthermore, he moved on foot and dispensed with a carriage. True, the King gave him twenty thousand livres [five thousand dollars] to live as consul but seven thousand would have been worth more in Normandy; and more important, it was still necessary to find means for clothing, food, and to maintain a chancellor, something which could not be done for less than two hundred louis [nine hundred dollars] a year.[97]

In spite of these worries, difficulties, and shortage of money, the zeal of M. de Crèvecoeur for improving "the establishment" never waned. The English also had a well-functioning packet line and there existed between the two services a great rivalry,

[96] Letter of November 15, 1784.—*Arch. Nat.*, O[1] 597. In 1784 Crèvecoeur had the accounts of the packet-boats kept by a certain M. Grandchamp, a French merchant living in New York, with whom he also had certain difficulties.—Letter of July 15, 1784, in *Arch. Nat., Marine*, D[1] 32.

[97] Letters of July 1, and of August 7, 1784.—*Arch. Nat., Marine*, D[1] 32 and O[1] 597. The services of the director of packet-boats were not immediately rewarded: "As I have no appointment as director of these vessels, I dare to hope that you will be pleased to believe that I am not compensated for what the job is worth," he writes on February 12, 1784, to the Baron de Breteuil.—*Arch. Nat.*, O[1] 596. In the account rendered "Lord Le Couteulx de la Noraye of receipts and expenditures for the rigging and unrigging of the packet-boats from September 1783 to June 1785," M. de Crèvecoeur received for a two-years appointment 3,600 livres [$900] plus a bonus of 6,000 livres [$1,500] and an indemnity of 1,640 livres [$410]. To his chancellor, M. Lefèvre des Barres, were given 900 livres [$225] "for the service which he had performed for the packet-boats from July 1, 1784, to October 1, 1785." Lastly, M. Grandchamp received 568 livres [$142].—*Arch. Nat., Marine*, D[1] 34.

so that every time a French packet-boat made a crossing more quickly than its competitor M. de Crèvecoeur did not fail to mention it with very obvious satisfaction. Moreover, it is to be noted that although the line remained deficient it did function for two years in a very regular manner. From September 1783 to September 1784, save for a few exceptions about which I am not absolutely certain, a packet-boat left Lorient each month. The crossing averaged fifty days but the returns were made much more rapidly. They required normally only a month. One of the best crossings was made in twenty-two days by the *Courrier de l'Europe* when it brought M. de Crèvecoeur to France.[68] The names of the large number of passengers available to us from the manifests include those especially of merchants, functionaries, and some emigrant families. It was aboard the *Courrier de New-York* that Lafayette returned to the United States in 1784. This packet-boat, commanded by M. de Jaubert, left Lorient on June 29th. The Marquis was accompanied by Colonel de Caraman and Colonel Arma. He brought his servant Lepine. When the vessel arrived on August 4th in the roadstead at New York, M. de Crèvecoeur had just departed for Boston to discuss with M. Peck the necessary measures for the construction of the *Maréchal de Castries*. I suppose he must have regretted this very much; however, he had the satisfaction of being in New York on December 23d when Lafayette left that city following his triumphal tour through the United States. The passengers were accompanied to their barge by Generals Green, Webb, Lamb, the French consul and a large number of people. They presently embarked on the frigate which was to carry them back to France and which early the next day made sail in the North River [as New Yorkers frequently refer to the Hudson] in company with the *Courrier de l'Europe*.[69] The following year, on July 17, 1785,

[68] June 17, to July 9, 1785. The large clippers of the 19th century made even more rapid crossings. It seems that *La Rochejacquelein* in April–March 1903 beat all records in requiring only twelve days from New York to Cherbourg. "It is without doubt the best crossing ever made by a sailing vessel."—L. Lacroix, *Les Derniers Grands Voiliers* (Paris: 1937), 414.

[69] Letter of January 14, 1785.—*Arch. Nat.*, O[1] 197.

there arrived at New York on the *Courrier de l'Amerique* seven beagle hounds as a gift to General Washington from the Marquis de Lafayette.[70] The records of the packet-boats also inform us that on October 9th the *Courrier de Lorient* brought back "a savage named Peter for the Marquis de Lafayette."[71] On its first voyage, January 19, 1784, the same packet-boat had brought to America letters from the Queen, but the source does not mention to whom they were addressed.[72]

Almost two years had slipped away since M. de Crèvecoeur's arrival in New York when he obtained a leave. Reasons of health and family affairs were not the only reasons which persuaded him to obtain it; he had hopes on returning to France of visiting factories and giving a salutary stimulus to the development of commercial affairs. Embarking June 17, 1785, on the *Courrier de l'Europe* and arriving July 9th at Lorient, he remained in France until the month of May 1787. When he resumed his consular post he found the packet-boat service completely altered. It had been decided that the port of Lorient was too far away from Paris. The directors counted on giving a new stimulus to the line and on reducing the deficit, but their hopes were not long deceived. The ship-owners, who had never ceased viewing the government enterprise as a blow to their freedom and resenting the competition of the packet-boats, endeavored to make them very unpopular. The chambers of commerce raised protests which the parlements supported. In the face of this circle of opposition the government was obliged to yield, and the packet-boats were discontinued by the Decree of July 5, 1788. Thus terminated the career of these vessels which for five years had courageously sailed the Atlantic. The disappointment this brought to M. de Crèvecoeur is evident in his letters. He did not live long enough to see the rebirth in the following century of the enterprise of which he had been the founder.

[70] *Arch. Nat., Marine,* D^1 33.
[71] *Arch. Nat., Marine,* C^8 1033.
[72] *Idem.*

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

William Shippen, Jr.: Pioneer in American Medical Education. By Betsy Copping Corner. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1951. xiii + 161 pages, biblio., index, illus. $2.75.)

A tattered manuscript booklet was discovered, fifty years ago, in a dusty attic of a house in Baltimore, an item among a collection of old books—a part of the library of a physician of the 18th century—which had been brought from Philadelphia many years before and had remained there forgotten. This inconspicuous little volume fell, fortunately for the historian, into the hands of a man of discernment, who had historical inclinations: Dr. Pleasants, having recognized the importance of the discovery saw that the manuscript was, in time, placed in the hands of one who would make the best use of it. This person was Mrs. Betsy Copping Corner, the author of the book under review. The manuscript volume turned out to be a find of real historical value, since it proved to be a diary, or perhaps better called a journal, kept by William Shippen, Jr. during six months—from the beginning of July 1759 through January 1760—while a student of medicine in London; this is particularly so, as the author of the biography informs us: "No diary of events of his later life is known today, and apparently only one of his letters has been published."

The content of the journal, which has been reproduced, is a specimen of brevity. Each entry is a brief notation of the events of the day; none of his thoughts is noted and few superfluous words are used; each is merely a statement of facts, which have been jotted down in a most concise and abbreviated form, covering his actions and observations during the previous twenty-four hours. Mrs. Corner has used this brief but enlightening document of William Shippen's life while residing in London most advantageously by expanding and embellishing the story as told in it, to make an interesting biographical sketch of this young American medical student. This is contained in the first eight chapters, covering almost half the number of pages of the book.

The remainder of the biography continues with his studies in Edinburgh; his marriage on returning to London before his departure for home; his early years of practice in Philadelphia, during which he had private classes to teach anatomy and obstetrics; the part he took in founding the first medical school in the Colonies and his close association with Drs. John Morgan and Benjamin Rush, at first so coöperative but later often stormy.

Mrs. Corner had no autobiographical documents from which to obtain information concerning these later years of William Shippen's life, as the Doctor left few literary remains, either professional or personal, outside

those which have been mentioned and a doctoral thesis presented by him for graduation from Edinburgh University—a translation of which is included in this volume. Hence the author had to fall back on other sources for her information, chiefly from documents, contemporary letters and memoirs written by men such as John Morgan, Benjamin Rush, and Samuel Bard, as well as others, and by referring to earlier biographies of Shippen.

William Shippen arrived in London in the early summer of 1759, to remain for a year. His father had planned before his departure from Philadelphia the teachers under whom he was to study and how he was to spend his time. He had been admonished about the vice and loose living in London. He knew that the expense of the journey was great and that the studies he was to take were in final preparation for his career, for he had already served an apprenticeship of four years under his father. His determination to learn, therefore, stimulated him to an unusual application to his studies. His training in medicine during the stay in London was of a practical nature; anatomy as taught by dissecting and midwifery or as we call it today obstetrics, learned by attending women in labor. The following year was spent at the University of Edinburgh where he studied medicine from a theoretical standpoint under famous masters. Here he received the degree of M.D. in September 1761.

He opened a private school of anatomy in Philadelphia after arriving home and soon commenced to lecture on midwifery. He became Professor of Anatomy and Surgery on the founding in 1765 of the medical school which was to become part of the University of Pennsylvania. As the three members of the faculty—John Morgan, Professor of Medicine, and Benjamin Rush, Professor of Chemistry—had all attended the University of Edinburgh, the new school was naturally modeled after the one they had studied at. The unhappy altercations between these famous doctors and eminent men, during the War of Independence, are known to all.

Although the biography as a whole is most readable, the portion concerning the London period, containing new facts excerpted from the Diary, holds the attention of the reader most. Recently published journals from that period tell of the seamy side of life in London, but Shippen tells only of his behavior which is most serious and circumspect. "It is with young William Shippen, Jr. that this account deals, with a young doctor in the making and his unconscious self-disclosures in a hastily kept diary. Curious, eager, athirst for knowledge, fond of excitement, fond of people, socially at ease, William Shippen, Jr. was early marked for success in a medical career." Young Shippen writes to his Uncle Edward soon after his arrival in London: "I find the Vice and Wickedness as many and as various as I expected; but can with pleasure and without boasting say, I find very little Difficulty shunning them; nothing necessary but a little

Resolution and a constant call to more necessary Business. . . ." The year spent in London was filled with great events, among them celebrations for the fall of Fort Ticonderoga, the capture of Quebec and the passing of French Canada to England; these are mentioned in the Diary.

The young man received clinical instruction in medicine at St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark during his first summer in Britain; here he was instructed by Mark Akenside, among others, physician to the Hospital, although better known as a poet. He worked with a well-known man-midwife and often made deliveries among the poor by himself. Although most attentive to his work during these summer months, this enthusiastic lad found time to attend parties given by his friends, with girls and boys of his age, where he often danced until the early hours of the morning, enjoying himself as only a youth can. But above all he was delighted with the theater, attending plays whenever the opportunity presented itself, paying a shilling for a seat in the balcony; seeing Garrick in *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, and *The Merchant of Venice*, among the many plays of that day. Sunday generally found him attending divine service at one of the numerous churches of the metropolis; frequently to hear the sermons of the Wesleyan preacher George Whitefield; with whom at first he had a close understanding which later became dulled, and he saw less of him.

His anatomical studies commenced in October, when the colder weather permitted anatomical investigations. He then attended the lectures of the well-known anatomist, William Hunter, which were held between five o'clock and seven-thirty each weekday afternoon. During the morning he dissected and made injected preparations under the supervision of Dr. Hunter's younger brother, John, who was to surpass the latter in later years as an original investigator of scientific problems in biology and physiology. Shippen moved from Southwark where he had resided, to board with John Hunter at Great Piazza, Covent Garden, in order to be near his work. He and John often talked shop during the evenings well on to the early hours of the following morning, discussing what they had done during the day. Leisure time was now restricted and he had to forego many of the pleasures he had pursued in the summer months. During the few hours he had for relaxation he often hastened to the coffeehouse to read the newspapers, to look for letters or to meet some traveler from home; it was only occasionally that he could now attend the theater. It seems strange that, with all this strict application to research, he did not absorb some of the enthusiasm and desire for investigation from these famous brothers who through persistency and ability laid much of the foundation for modern research in medicine and surgery.

Among the friends made in London were the famous Quaker physician, John Fothergill, and the indomitable Franklin, both of whom gave him valuable advice. Fothergill, a friend of the Colonists of Pennsylvania

intrusted him with the valuable collection of anatomical drawings and plaster casts for delivery to the Pennsylvania Hospital, when he returned to Philadelphia in 1762, where it can be seen today. Benjamin Franklin took him under a fatherly wing, introducing him to people of importance and taking him to a meeting of the Royal Society, where he probably met men of standing in the world of science.

Mrs. Corner, whose husband has given historians a valuable work on Benjamin Rush, has accomplished a fine piece of biographical writing in presenting us with an accompanying work on William Shippen, Jr. This required considerable research and study as she consulted original sources for the facts. The nine illustrations for the handsome volume, with a copy of a contemporary map of Southwark for end papers, are well chosen and beautifully reproduced. The book can be read with pleasurable profit and it should be found on the library shelf of every American historian whether he be a physician or layman.

The New-York Historical Society FENWICK BEEKMAN, M.D.

A Topographical Description of the Dominions of the United States of America [Being a Revised and Enlarged Edition of] A Topographical Description of Such Parts of North America as are Contained in the (Annexed) Map of the Middle British Colonies, &c. in North America. By T. POWNALL, M.P. Late Governor, Captain-General, Vice-Admiral and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's Provinces now States, Massachusetts Bay and South Carolina, and Lieutenant Governor of New Jersey. Edited by LOIS MULKEARN, Librarian, Darlington Memorial Library, University of Pittsburgh. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1949. xvi + 236 pages including bibliography, index, two folding maps. $10.00.)

After a slight delay (of 166 years), the revised edition of Thomas Pownall's *A Topographical Description* . . . has come from the press through the sponsorship of the Darlington Library of the University of Pittsburgh and at the hands of Mrs. Lois Mulkearn, Pownall's modern editor and Librarian of the Darlington.

This was, when Pownall had completed his revision in 1784, a "definitive" text, which seems to mean simply the best that can be done at a given time with a given amount of knowledge available to the writer. Today, the new edition makes available a book which in its earlier edition (1776) has become a rarity with price records ranging well over $100. Students of early American history will find an exact and careful summation of the state of geographical knowledge in the new States at the end of the Revolution.

Pownall was one of the best and most intelligent of the British governors in the Colonial period. Lord Loudon called him "the greatest

man I have yet met . . . in this country . . ." and John Adams, speaking of Pownall's services as Governor of Massachusetts, described him as "the most constitutional and national governor, in my opinion, who ever represented the Crown in this province." A great friend of the cartographer Lewis Evans, Pownall first published *A Topographical Description* . . . in 1776 to accompany a revised edition of the latter's 1755 map of the Middle Colonies. Pownall considered it as a second edition, treating Evans' own *Analysis* of the map as the true first edition.

About 1779 Pownall began collecting information for a revised edition and by 1784 his manuscript was ready for the press. This is the manuscript which ultimately came still unpublished, into the collection of William M. Darlington, now at the University of Pittsburgh.

Mrs. Mulkearn has given us a carefully edited version of the text with footnotes that supply necessary information and yet avoid belaboring the obvious. Purely as a matter of antiquarian concern, it might have been interesting to have in some way noted the new matter added by Pownall in his "third" edition. If the book had appeared when it was supposed to, however, this wouldn't have been done, and so it is really immaterial.

The book is a handsome typographical specimen, and the maps are more than adequate. In this edition Pownall planned to use not only the Evans map but also a map of the Southern Colonies, which is here reproduced. His added textual material is mostly in descriptions of New York City, Boston, the Connecticut Valley, and extracts from a journal of his trip through New Jersey to Bethlehem and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Lawrence Henry Gipson has supplied a foreword which clearly indicates the significance of the book to the historian of the period.

It is always with hesitancy that one suggests any book as "a work which no library should be without" but it seems eminently safe to observe that Mrs. Mulkearn's edition will be of more than considerable value to any college or university library, and to any library or individual interested in early American history.

The Clements Library — Robert Benaway Brown

Diplomacy and Indian Gifts: Anglo-French Rivalry Along the Ohio and Northwest Frontiers, 1748–1763. By Wilbur R. Jacobs. (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1950. 208 pages including biblio., index, illus. $5.00.)

As an example of scholarly handling, readability, and all-around good printing, *Diplomacy and Indian Gifts* by Wilbur R. Jacobs ranks high among recent books published by a university press.

The book discusses the old Colonial custom of overwhelming the native Indians with gifts of valuable commodities, and treats the subject in nine carefully documented chapters. Dr. Jacobs starts out by showing

that the giving and receiving of presents was a deeply intrenched custom among most of the Indian tribes. He hints at but does not actually say in his first chapter that the Indians of many of the eastern tribes believed that the power *to give* constituted evidence of the "orenda" or indwelling magical potence of the giver. Out of this grew a custom that ranged from Puget Sound with its tribal "potlatches" to the gifts of corn and furs by the Indians of the East. The latter fact the author establishes by many citations.

The struggle for territory and trade between France and England by means of gifts which were to purchase alliances and allegiance is well described. The results of such a policy are carefully analyzed, as is the stimulated thirst of the now-sophisticated natives for more and more. Types of presents (Chapter III) and their cost (Chapter IV) form an illuminating revelation of the vastness of the practice and its heavy drain upon the home offices, the Colonial governments, and the trader. The rage to buy the favor of strong Indian tribes resulted in the showering of enormous quantities of clothing, textiles, tools, hardware, food, money, and wampum upon the bewildered natives until it dawned upon them that they could demand these things with arrogance as a right, which if not satisfied would cause a shift of allegiance. (Proponents of the "welfare state" please take notice!) Each party in the race to provide did so with alacrity and liberality, for European nations did not find warfare in the wilderness cheap or painless. Thus the Indians chuckled while national exchequers groaned at the cost of gifts so abundant and weighty that even the casks of brandy or rum often failed to provide the necessary energy to carry them off.

To New Yorkers there is a significant chapter (V) dealing with the career of Sir William Johnson and the development of the Iroquois alliance. An excellent account of the gift-policy in the diplomacy deemed necessary in the Ohio valley (Chapter VI) is given, and in Chapter VII is a refreshingly clear presentation of the prelude to the French and Indian War, 1752–54, the scheme of gift-giving being continued in a discussion of the policy on the frontier the following year. The Fur War, as it should be called, in its final stages constitutes the final chapter. The author says:

"Thus in 1759, following the fall of Fort Duquesne, the Indians had been eager to receive large amounts of British merchandise in the form of gifts. Strouds, cattle, guns, jews'-harps, and a hundred other favors helped to bring vast numbers of Western Indians under the British flag."

A good bibliography, a comprehensive index and a skillfully drawn chart based upon a 1755 London map, forming the lining papers, makes the book even more valuable.

Dr. Jacobs has performed a real service in drawing the facts together but with academic restraint he shrinks from pointing out the obvious

meaning of his tale, which is that an economically weak people in the presence of seemingly boundless wealth and in the face of newly awakened desires, may be weakened and even exterminated by "showers of blessings." The book should make the Marshall-planners wonder what we are doing to impoverished Europe.

Rochester Museum of Arts and Sciences ARTHUR C. PARKER

John Adams and the American Revolution. By CATHERINE DRINKER BOWEN. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, 1950. xvii + 699 pages, notes, biblio., index, illus. $5.00.)

With three or four best-selling biographies to her credit, it is perhaps presumptuous in an academic historian to sit in judgment upon Mrs. Bowen's work. Yet such an undertaking may be rewarding: historians who ask themselves what Mrs. Bowen has that they haven't will find the answer clearly set forth in *John Adams and the American Revolution.*

In the first place, it is apparent that Mrs. Bowen has done extensive reading in printed sources and secondary books; not as much research, perhaps, as an academician would devote to a subject of such extensive proportions, but still enough to see her through handsomely. Secondly, Mrs. Bowen conceives the writing of history to be an art and has succeeded to a considerable degree in making it such. In her books, there is no ill-digested assortment of facts flung at the reader under the expectation he will make the most of them. Also, Mrs. Bowen is at her best in narrative and in establishing the background of her subject's life—witness the early chapters of *John Adams and the American Revolution.*

Mrs. Bowen has the happy facility of making history "read like a novel." But here a disquieting question presents itself: is it history or a novel that she has produced. She denies that her work is "fictionalized biography"—"call it rather a portrait of John Adams." While it is true that Mrs. Bowen has not invented characters and that most of the incidents she describes have a factual basis, she has brought in so much imaginary dialogue that the distinction she has drawn between fictionalized and her own brand of biography becomes rather thin and unsubstantial. Moreover, much of this imaginary dialogue is unnecessary and some of it is unconvincing. Shakespeare and Marlowe could put dialogue in the mouths of historical characters and make them come to life; but this requires a genius of the first order. In Mrs. Bowen's case, the words she has attributed to John Adams and other characters do not, at least to this reviewer, always ring true; the portrait would have been a better likeness had Mrs. Bowen been content to allow John Adams himself to draw it.

Mrs. Bowen has given her readers no method of distinguishing between fact and fancy, between imaginary and actual dialogue. For example, she has Mr. Adams observing that "When a woman was not strong, she had time for learning"—a remark which Mrs. Adams was apt to greet

"with a sniff." Again, in the last scene in the book, "A hand fell on John's shoulder. He looked up. 'Cousin John,' Sam Adams said cheerfully. 'You are in a very brown study. I said your name three times. . . . Is it well with you tonight?'

"John smiled, filled suddenly with happiness, gratitude, a flood of deep feeling he could not have defined. With a wide, sweeping gesture of hospitality he pulled out a chair. 'It is very well with me tonight, Cousin,' he said."

Did this conversation actually take place or is it imaginary? Mrs. Bowen, it seems, ought to give her readers some clue as to whether they are reading fact or fancy.

Stanford University JOHN C. MILLER

Forgotten Patriot: Robert Morris. By ELEANOR YOUNG. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950. xii + 280 pages, biblio., index, illus. $4.00.)

This is the first biography of the "Financier of the American Revolution" to appear since Ellis Paxon Oberholtzer published his *Robert Morris: Patriot and Financier* in 1903. It makes no major changes in the story told in the earlier work. The scantiness of information on certain aspects of Morris's life, particularly his early years and his part in the Constitutional Convention, is still evident. Miss Young does, however, give us many fresh details from personal letters "reflecting," as she herself puts it, "the rich humanity as well as the patriotic fervor of this great man."

With considerable skill she has woven this material into a well-organized narrative in three parts, the first part dealing with Morris's rise to prominence in the Colonies as a merchant prince of Philadelphia, the second with his services to the incipient American nation as its Superintendent of Finance, and the third with the post-war land speculations that ruined him. There is much here to interest the serious student of history as well as "the ordinary reader," whom the author has selected as her audience. But unfortunately any reader, ordinary or otherwise, is likely to be distracted from the merits of her book by the George-Washington-and-the-Cherry-Tree atmosphere that permeates it.

Despite a declared intent to "maintain an open mind" toward Morris, Miss Young writes about him in a manner that can only be called hero-worshipping. On the one hand she brushes aside all criticism of him as envious and malicious carping; on the other, she praises his every word and act until the constant reiteration defeats its own purpose. Surely a statesman of Robert Morris's stature deserves maturer treatment. Surely, too, his biography should not be embellished by apocryphal anecdotes dramatized as fact, nor by imaginary dialogue such as this exchange between Morris and his wife:

"'Today those of us who remained at the banquet,' he stated in firm,

ringing tones, 'made certain vows—vows to defend the country. I pledged myself and my possessions to this sacred cause. Perhaps this was not fair to you and our children.'

"Tears were in Mary Morris's brown eyes as she raised them to meet the blue ones gazing at her so pleadingly. 'What else could you do, my dear?' She tried to smile through her tears. 'We are partners, aren't we?'"

And that, perhaps is enough to convey the flavor of this biography. The reader who wishes to know what Robert replied to Mary may consult Miss Young.

New York City LEONARD HAL BRIDGES

The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790–1801: A Study in National Stimulus and Local Response. By HARRY MARLIN TINKCOM. (Harrisburg: The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1950. xi + 374 pages, biblio., index, frontis. $1.75.)

This is the second of a series of doctoral dissertations, the first being Robert Brunhouse's *Counter-Revolution in Pennsylvania, 1776–1790* (1942), which Professor Roy Nichols of The University of Pennsylvania is directing.

The Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania, 1790–1801, subtitled "A Study in National Stimulus and Local Response," is a workmanlike narrative of the politics of the State from 1790, when the national capital was located in Philadelphia, but more particularly when the new state constitution went into effect and Thomas Mifflin was elected governor. Mifflin proved to be an able and popular leader through the difficult years of the Genêt controversy (1793), the rise and fall of the Democratic societies (1793–1795), the Whiskey Rebellion (1794), the Jay Treaty (1795), the settlement of Presque Isle, or Erie (1793–1795), and the related Indian troubles. Though Mifflin was no party man, the State was controlled by Federalists till 1799, when Thomas McKean was elected governor. Even so, the stubborn Federalist senate all but nullified Pennsylvania's electoral vote for Jefferson in 1800. Yet the State, like the nation, became definitely "Republican" or Democratic; and credit for the conversion is due to such men as Jefferson, Gallatin, Thomas Cooper, Benjamin Bache, and William Duane—the two last being editors of *The Aurora*, a strongly anti-Federalist newspaper of Philadelphia.

These interesting facts are heavily documented with 50 pages of notes and a 10-page bibliography, which would seem more than adequate. But there are omissions surprising to those familiar with Philadelphia and the national scene at this time. Freneau's *National Gazette* (1791–1793), the leading national democratic newspaper, and Cobbett's fiery *Porcupine's Gazette* (1797–1800) are almost ignored. Freneau's political essays of 1799–1800, *Letters . . . by Robert Slender*, are by-passed; and "Slender" is apparently mistaken for Duane (p. 234, note 111). John Beckley's po-

litical writings are largely avoided (as well as the only biography) and his entanglement with Monroe, Hamilton, and Callender. Mathew Carey is absent, though an important influence, a champion of the Irish, and a satirist who silenced Cobbett. The Fennos' feuds with Bache and Freneau are omitted, as are the problem of Edmund Randolph, the accused Secretary of State; the *Davila* papers of John Adams; Paine's *Rights of Man*, which stirred up a furore around Adams and Jefferson in 1791; Hamilton's attacks on Jefferson and Freneau in 1792, his *Pacificus* and *No Jacobin* papers of 1793, and the extended Republican attempt to discredit him; the national rage over Jay's Treaty in 1795; and the war crisis of 1797. Little or no mention is made of certain useful publications —Carey's *American Museum* and *Daily Advertiser*, Brown's *Federal Gazette* and *Philadelphia Gazette*, Claypoole's *Daily Advertiser*, Dunlap's *American Daily Advertiser*, Oswald's *Independent Gazetteer*, and Scull's *Pittsburgh Gazette*—and Griswold's *Republican Court*, a standard work on Philadelphia society and politics.

A few mistakes of fact and implication need to be noted. Genêt was minister, not to Philadelphia, but to the United States (pp. 75–76); and it is not clear that he asked Bache to thank the people (p. 77). The same report appears in the *National Gazette*, and was probably written by Freneau, who was openly active in support of Genêt. And evidently, despite histories, Genet did not threaten to appeal to the people over the President's authority (p. 78), but intended to address Congress, according to Dallas (*The Independent Gazetteer*, Dec. 14, 1793), the only man who could know outside of Genêt himself, who denied the charge. Bache was not, as implied (pp. 165–166), a vigorous opponent of Federalism from the start. His *Aurora* was established in 1790, and he remained cautious and timid until 1793, when he began to follow the lead of Freneau. The article probably referred to (p. 165, note 35) was by "Mirabeau," and very likely written by Beckley, not Bache. There is no evidence, as might be concluded, that Freneau was ever financially helped by Jefferson (p. 189, and note 83 referring to Fay's *Two Franklins*, p. 150), or that Fenno was helped by Hamilton in 1789 (p. 191, and note 91 referring to Krout and Fox's *Completion of Independence*, p. 158, note 2). These errors may be partly due to attacking a subject too large for a Ph.D. thesis. The book seems to devote overmuch attention to the minor details of local voting, and the reader may wonder at the relative neglect of towns and leaders outside Philadelphia.

Republicans and Federalists in Pennsylvania represents a great amount of diligent work in unattractive data whose compilation and interpretation are a real service to historians. But it is incomplete, its chief value being the account of Mifflin's administrations and McKean's victory. Its judgments on national affairs and issues are rather unreliable, and their full impact on Pennsylvania should be reconsidered and rewritten.

Miami University PHILIP MARSH

A History of the Parish of Trinity Church in the City of New York. Compiled by order of the Corporation by JOHN A. DIX, Senior Warden, and edited by LEICESTER C. LEWIS, Ph.D., S.T.D., D.C.L., Vicar of St. Luke's Chapel. *Part V: The Rectorship of Dr. Morgan Dix.* (New York: published for Trinity Church by Columbia University Press, 1950. xiv + 316 pages, index, illus. $5.00.)

Trinity Parish has been a vital factor in the history of the City of New York since its foundation in 1697. Its influence has not only been religious and social, but political and economic. The wealth of the Parish in real estate has brought considerable criticism upon the institution, but few realize the great use to which that wealth has been put. Columbia University was brought through early financial difficulties by the generosity of Trinity Corporation.

This is the fifth volume in the official history of the Parish and covers the rectorship of the late Dr. Morgan Dix, incumbent from 1862 until his death in 1908. Dr. Dix started this project and with the aid of Dr. Arthur Lowndes, a priest of great scholarly ability, was able to produce four excellent volumes covering the period from the foundation of the Parish up to the time he became rector.

John A. Dix who collected the material for this volume and was responsible for most of its composition was the son of Dr. Morgan Dix. That in itself is a disadvantage as far as objectivity is concerned. Mr. Dix died before the work was ready for publication and the project was turned over to Dr. Leicester C. Lewis, Vicar of St. Luke's Chapel, Hudson Street, for completion. Dr. Lewis was in failing health at the time and his death occurred before all the proof could be corrected. This has made the fifth volume inferior to the four earlier. The lack of adequate footnotes and the complete absence of bibliography is a marked example of this.

The greatest weakness lies in the failure to link the history of the Parish to the main stream of the times. One example will illustrate this. A brief account is given of the one-hundredth anniversary of the organization of the Constitutional Government and the inauguration of President Washington. A memorial service was held at St. Paul's Chapel in 1889 with a distinguished congregation present, among them President Benjamin Harrison. This is just about all that is told of the event. But there was an interesting development which is not even mentioned. Bishop Henry Codman Potter of New York preached and very clearly stated that the government of the United States was not on the same level of integrity as it had been in Washington's time. President Harrison, who had been looking about the church, was immediately brought to attention. The incident drew comment from the press and although Bishop Potter declared that the statement was not a rebuke of the Chief Executive, nevertheless letters of congratulation poured in, showing that many approved the rebuke. It is just possible that this incident

contributed to the defeat of the Republicans in the next Presidential election. This interesting and possibly significant event is completely passed over in this work. Such material would have given the volume more than parochial relevance.

It is now hoped that a competent person will be secured to produce a volume on the rectorship of the late William T. Manning who followed Dr. Dix and remained in office until his election to the episcopal office in 1921.

West Park, New York JULIEN GUNN, O. H. C.

The Minutes of the Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1685 to 1705. With an Introductory Essay by GEORGE J. MILLER, Registrar of the Board. (Perth Amboy, N. J.: The Board of Proprietors, 1949. xv + 280 pages, index, ports., map, facsims. $10.00.)

A complicated proprietary system superimposed upon a foundation of previously established land grants and governmental jurisdictions developed the conflicts which produced the peculiar economic, social, and political conditions that characterized colonial New Jersey and gave distinction to the province. Consequently even such prosaic source material as relates to Indian purchases, surveys, quitrents, and land grants becomes significant. Scholars and students of colonial history, therefore, will find *The Minutes of the Board of Proprietors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey from 1685 to 1705* not only valuable but indispensable.

Although this first minute book is well edited, it is to be regretted that George J. Miller, who possesses no mean knowledge of this field of history, should have confined his introductory essay mainly to a description of the functions and activities of the Board of Proprietors, for which, perhaps because he is its present registrar, he acts somewhat in the capacity of an apologist. The records deserve an interpretative setting and a candid appraisal not only of the facts recorded but also of those to which mere allusion is made, as the latter are sometimes more significant and valuable than the former.

These minutes show the colony of East New Jersey undergoing an experience so different from that of her sister colony of New York as to be almost a reverse process. During and surely by the close of this period, a large part of the valuable land in New York was in the hands of a few families, due to the liberal land grants bestowed by royal governors upon men of ability, through whose influence they hoped to control the colony. Consequently the struggle in New York was essentially that of underprivileged groups contending against what was, or was fast becoming, entrenched wealth. In East New Jersey, on the other hand, the struggle was rather that of proprietary wealth—until 1702/3 without the backing of royal governors—laboring to entrench itself against bitter resistance from settlers claiming lands under the Elizabethtown grant and Monmouth Patent given by Governor Richard Nicolls, representative of

the Duke of York, before he had learned of his master's grant to Berkeley and Carteret.

Mr. Miller accepts the general misconception of the nature of this struggle. He sees proprietary forces as pitted against democratic masses, characterizing Monmouth County—"the situs of the greatest resistance against the Board of Proprietors"—as a "pure democracy," the original settlers having given "every person a full and equal voice in all the government of the settlement." This is misleading. Both the Monmouth Patent of April 8, 1665, and contemporary records—showing the functioning of the Assembly established by the Patent—reveal a government in which the Patentees were given a predominating voting strength over their Associates, the latter alone being popularly elected. The Monmouth Patent provided that the Patentees—originally twelve in number—were to have "Liberty to elect by the Vote of the Major Part of the Inhabitants five or seven other Persons of the ablest and discreetest of the said Inhabitants, or a greater Number of them (if the Patentees . . . shall see cause) to join with them, and they together, or the Major Part of them, shall have full Power and Authority to make such peculiar or prudential Laws and Constitutions amongst the Inhabitants for the better and more orderly governing of them as to them shall seem meet; provided they be not repugnant to the public Laws of the Government"—that is, to the "Duke's Laws." Consequently the government was one that was essentially controlled by the Patentees. The first town book of Elizabethtown being lost, it is impossible to determine the nature of the early government then established there. Having stemmed from eastern Long Island and New England—more especially from Connecticut,—it seems probable that the government of Elizabethtown, although republican in form, was, like Connecticut's, controlled. Long tenures made possible by invariable reëlections and the religious character of their magistracies would indicate this. What the proprietors actually faced, therefore, were rival, conservative leaders controlling local governments, who made use of the settlers under their control in order to resist what was considered as a proprietary encroachment upon their special rights and privileges.

The minutes of the Board of Proprietors cover a period of time when comparatively large surveys of land began. These show a marked contrast between the relatively small holdings of the original settlers and the large tracts of the proprietors: hundreds against tens of thousands of acres. Moreover under "The Concession and Agreement of the Lords Proprietors, of the Province of New-Caesarea," February 10, 1664, the former were subject to quitrents and taxation while the latter were free from quitrents and from taxation as long as the tracts remained unsettled. It might seem from the minutes of the Board that many of the early settlers, especially from Monmouth County, were peacefully surrendering their rights under the Nicolls grant in return for land confirmed by the proprietors. In reality, anti-proprietary feeling was so bitter that it resulted in the great New Jersey revolution of the closing years of the 17th

century always referred to later as *the* revolution, comparable to the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and its ancillary colonial upheavals. By this revolution, the proprietors were virtually forced to surrender their government to the Crown and the history of East New Jersey then parallels that of New York to a limited degree.

Criticizing the contention of James B. Connolly that quitrents were a contributing cause of the American Revolution, Mr. Miller will concede only that they were a factor "which brought much unrest and dissension between the inhabitants and the Proprietors." This unrest and dissension however was an essential factor in the democratization of the politics and society of colonial New Jersey, a movement that was as fundamental as the contest for home rule. It took both of these movements to bring on the war and to achieve independence. In this sense, so far as New Jersey was concerned, quitrents had a direct and important bearing upon the Revolution.

Although these minutes are mainly concerned with surveys, quitrents, and land grants, they also show that the Board of Proprietors interested themselves in such matters as the fostering of trade, immigration, the opening up of roads, leasing of ferries, and the granting of land for the erection of mills and iron works. Consequently, as Mr. Miller indicates in his introduction, this minute book is of interest to the political, social, and economic historian as well as to the genealogist. The volume is admirably printed, contains a number of excellent illustrations, and has a good index. It is to be hoped that the present Board of Proprietors, who generously underwrote the cost of publication of this volume, will continue to place all scholars in its debt by making the later records in its possession more readily accessible to the public.

The New-York Historical Society E. Marie Becker

John Smibert, Painter; with a Descriptive Catalogue of Portraits and Notes on the Work of Nathaniel Smibert. By Henry Wilder Foote. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. xi + 292 pages, biblio., index, illus. $6.00.)

Dr. Henry Wilder Foote's *John Smibert, Painter* is a welcome addition in the field of literature on colonial American painting and a requisite for the serious student and art library. Published twenty years after his *Robert Feke, Colonial Portrait Painter*, it presents for the first time the full-length biography and catalogue raisonné of the works of Feke's predecessor, John Smibert, the first well-trained artist to arrive in Boston who could boast of a professional career in London and a study of the old masters in Italy.

As social historian and biographer the author presents in the first half of the volume a realistic picture of the London Smibert left, the Boston to which he came in 1729 and established his Colour Shop, which became

the artistic center of Boston for the next twenty-one years, the influence of which was to be felt long after the painter's death.

In the catalogue raisonné of the artist's work appearing in the second half of the book, the author has wisely segregated the paintings into the following categories: (1) extant portraits; (2) portraits destroyed or unlocated; (3) portraits of questionable attribution; (4) old-master copies by Smibert; and (5) certain other portraits. The section dealing with the extant one hundred and twelve portraits is the largest and, when one considers the dilemma facing Dr. Foote when he assembled his material, one applauds his selection by and large. For in the past nearly all pre-Copley portraits in New England were at one time labelled Smibert and many of these appear as illustrations in the books published in this field during this century. Such a list is bound to be provocative but of the one hundred and twelve, six appear to this reviewer to be by other hands: namely, the Flagg children and Timothy Minot, which suggest Smibert's contemporary Feke; the Reverend George Phillips and Richard Waldron III, which are in the manner of Greenwood, another contemporary; and the Sir Peter Warren, which according to documentary evidence was painted in England just after Smibert's death.

To these one hundred and six I would add on the basis of style from those of questionable attribution the unidentified lady called Mrs. Clarke of Salem and Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Winslow. The discussion of this group of twenty-five portraits whose attribution is open to question or mistakenly assigned to Smibert is a great service to the art historian, as this group by and large comprises those that have appeared in the past in various publications as Smibert's work, and with the exception of the three noted above are in need of re-attribution. An even greater contribution for scholar, art historian, and collector lies in the treatment of the group designated as "certain other portraits," sixteen in number, all of which bear alleged signatures of the artist. Four of these were shown and discussed in an exhibition and seminar: "The Smibert Tradition," held at the Yale University Art Gallery, October-November 1949. Dr. Foote presents the facts impartially, leaving the reader to form his own conclusions.

In the appendices, the author discusses the work of Smibert's promising son Nathaniel, who died at the age of twenty-two, and presents for the first time a tentative catalogue of his work.

The shortcomings of the book lie in the paucity of illustrations. There are only seven full-page typical Smiberts shown, but how helpful it would have been for the student to have included a few of the "certain other portraits" for comparison, even if reduced in size. A series of small cuts for reference purposes would have added greatly to the usefulness of the book.

Dr. Foote has done John Smibert and the art historians a real service in presenting this definitive study of the artist who in 1730 held at

Boston the first art exhibition in colonial America, and who was judged by his contemporaries as "celebrated in Italy as well as Britain for a good Painter by the best Judges" and whom a successor in his painting chambers long after his death, the patriot-artist John Trumbull, was to fitly call "the patriarch of painting in America."

Yale University Art Gallery — JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS

A Church in History: The Story of Plymouth's First Hundred Years under Beecher, Abbott, Hillis, Durkee, and Fifield. (Brooklyn, N. Y.: [Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims], 1949. xii + 193 pages, illus. $3.50.)

"The events set forth in this book have made Plymouth Church (now Plymouth Church of the Pilgrims) a national as well as an international institution. Its history has been deeply interwoven with the tides and trends of America's development for the past century and more. . . ."—So, truthfully, Dr. L. Wendell Fifield, the present minister, in his foreword. For the volume goes beyond the history of a great church, beyond the biographies of the five powerful voices which have resounded from its pulpit, to the varied and tumultuous life of the nation which informed its institutional character and upon which it exerted so vital an influence —to the issues, political, moral, intellectual, which tore the fabric of Union in twain, and to the spiritual balm and moral heroism which restored and still restores our national integrity. Here the relentless God of fear gave way to the compassionate God of love; here slavery was exhibited in its brutality, the slave in his humanity; here the dismal doctrine of total depravity bowed before Darwinian science, and the dry bones of theology, in Beecher's view of it, were clothed with "the Divine Nature [which] broods over the human family everywhere, and tenderly stirs men to rise from a lower to a higher state of action. . . ." Here an initial congregation of 21 swelled within its first decade to 1,240, but the auditory of Plymouth pulpit was often the entire nation and sometimes the world. "Taking, as Theodore Parker said, the Rocky Mountains as his sounding-board," Plymouth's first pastor during a single decade "travelled nearly 300,000 miles and spoke over 1200 times" outside his church. Reading this stirring narrative one must perforce agree that "Plymouth Church is a church in history."

The six chapters (1847–1887) on Henry Ward Beecher were written by Richard Dwight Hillis; "The Gentle Years" (1888–1899) of Lyman Abbott, by Marjorie Hillis Roulston and Richard Dwight Hillis; the four chapters on Newell Dwight Hillis (1899–1924), by Marjorie Hillis Roulston; two chapters each on J. Stanley Durkee (1926–1941) and L. Wendell Fifield (1941–1947), by Warren B. Cochran; and the concluding chapter on "The Centennial Observance" (1947), by Roland Kilbon and David A. Bergmark. It was not the purpose of these authors to write a critical history weighted with scholarly apparatus. It is a book to read.

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

January 9: Lecture for members and friends: "McKim, Mead & White and the Architecture of the Age of Elegance," by Wayne Andrews; and a private showing of a special exhibition of their work.

January 17: Installation of high-school loan exhibition: "New York from Meadow to Metropolis," in Abraham Lincoln High School.

January 20: Meeting of the Association of Laboratory Assistants in New York City High Schools.

January 26: Meeting of The Bibliographical Society of America. Papers by Roland Baughman, Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, and Donald G. Wing.

January 27: Meeting of the Steamship Historical Society of America. Meeting of the New York Folklore Society: theme, "Folklore of New York City" with Marshall W. Stearns, Oscar Brand, and Allen Funt.

January 31: Installation of high-school loan exhibition: "When Old New York Was Young," in Seward Park High School.

February 3: Meeting of Oberlin Women's Club.

February 6: Lecture for members and friends: "Making History Come Alive" at Old Sturbridge Village, by Dr. Earle W. Newton.

February 10: Meeting of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences. Meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society with papers and addresses by R. W. G. Vail, Lee M. Friedman, Professor Oscar Handlin, Dr. Joshua Block, and Elisha M. Friedman; and a private showing of a special exhibition of "Early American Jewish Culture."

February 13: Meeting of the New York Section, National Council of Jewish Women.

February 23: Installation of high-school loan exhibition: "New York From Meadow to Metropolis," in Andrew Jackson High School.

March 1: Meeting of New York Chapter, Special Libraries Association.

March 3: High-school history program: "Gold Fever," illustrated lecture by Miss Pless, and film, "Western Union." Film program: THESE UNITED NATIONS, showing "Shortest Way Home" and "Canada."

March 6: Lecture for members and friends: "Tall Tales the Totems Tell," by Dr. Douglas Leechman; and showing of the film, "The Loon's Necklace."

March 10: Film program: THESE UNITED NATIONS, showing "Britain and Her Empire," "General Election," and "New Earth." School Art League Program: film, "Tempera Painting by Quincy Tahoma."

March 15: Meeting of the New York Library Club.

March 16: Meeting of Washington Heights Chapter, D. A. R.

March 17: Film program: THESE UNITED NATIONS, showing "France" and "Greece."

March 21: Meeting of New York League of Women Voters. Installation of high-school loan exhibition: "When Old New York Was Young," in Fort Hamilton High School.

March 24: Film program: THESE UNITED NATIONS, showing "This Is India" and "Czechoslovakia."
March 31: Film program: THESE UNITED NATIONS, showing "Peoples of the Soviet Union" and "How Russians Play."

Miss Barck was invited to speak at a meeting of the officers and directors of the Suffolk County Historical Society, Riverhead, Long Island, on January 12th. On February 27th she took Miss Kroinen's class from St. John's University Library School on a tour of the Society's Library. Mr. Carlson gave illustrated talks before the Sorosis Club meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel on March 5th, and at Sloan House, Y. M. C. A. on March 6th. The Society was again featured on television when Mr. Wall was guest on the Manhattan Spotlight program, WABD, and demonstrated early American lighting devices. A session of the New York University course on "The Museum and the School" was held at the Society on March 8th in which school-museum activities of the Society were discussed by Miss Pless.

Miss Rosary Scacciaferro joined the staff of the Society on March 1st to fill a newly created position of Assistant Cataloguer. Miss Scacciaferro is well acquainted with the Society, having been a member of Mr. Vail's class on "Resources and Methods of American Historical Societies" last Fall.

Among the coming events at the Society are lectures scheduled for April 3d when Lloyd Morris will speak on "Feast & Frolic in Old New York," and May 8th when Raymond Walker, Jr. will give an address on Albert Gallatin in conjunction with a special exhibition pertaining to our eminent Secretary of the Treasury; and the Annual Strawberry Festival to be held this year on Monday, June 4th.

The series of film programs on THESE UNITED NATIONS will be continued on Saturday afternoons at 3:15 P.M. through May 5th.

FAREWELL, MR. WALL

Alexander J. Wall, Jr., Assistant Director of the Society since 1947, resigned his post on March 15th to accept the directorship of The New Jersey Historical Society located in Newark, New Jersey. The Jersey Society, heretofore operating without the services of a director, has created the new position in the inauguration of a movement to assume a leading role in the State's historical activities, involving increased dissemination of knowledge of New Jersey's past and the nation's heritage among the State's school children and among the many interested adult groups and the general public. Mr. Wall came to The New-York Historical Society in 1935 from The Metropolitan Museum of Art where he

MR. AND MRS. ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR., AND MRS. WALL, SR.

At a farewell party, March 15th, in the Port of New York Gallery, given by the Staff in honor of its departing Assistant Director. President Beekman, on behalf of the Society, presented Mr. Wall with a certificate of Associate Membership; Mr. Vail, our Director, offered a toast in verse to the guest of honor; an engrossed testimonial from his former colleagues was signed by the President and each member of the Staff; and Miss Pless, on behalf of the Officers and Trustees and of the Staff, presented as their parting gift to Assistant Director Wall a superb photographic enlarger.

served an internship of a year. Beginning at the Society as a library assistant, he later undertook the duties of Museum Curator and developed procedures in accessioning and cataloguing the collections in the museum. Upon completion of the new wings in 1939 he was placed in charge of a new department of Education and Public Relations. His work was interrupted from 1942 until late in 1945 by service in the Army Air Force, from which he was discharged with the rank of Captain. Following the war, he returned to the Society, enlarging the educational program to include demonstration talks for high-school students, traveling school exhibitions and motion picture programs for adults. We shall always remember with friendship and gratitude his pleasant personality and his outstanding services to the Society. We wish him every success in his new and larger field of activity.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

OVER four hundred letters and documents of Albert Gallatin, donor's great-grandfather, and his family. Together with the gift from the donor's brother, Mr. A. E. Gallatin, listed below, these include 2 letters from Henry Adams to A. R. Gallatin, 1877; and of Albert Gallatin's own letters: 166 to J. W. Nicholson, 1794–1842; 31 to Hannah N. Gallatin, 1794–1807; 3 to Jean Badollet, 1824–34; 2 to James Gallatin, 1827–30; and 25 to A. R. Gallatin, 1821–27. *Gift of Mrs. A. Fitz Roy Anderson.*

Wedding dress worn by Ruth Lambert, donor's sister, at her marriage to Knight Dexter Cheney, Jr., 1896. The satin in the gown was made at the Cheney Brothers Mills, South Manchester, Conn. *Gift of Mrs. William Barbour.*

Wallpaper fireboard with a view said to be of Lake Success. *Gift of Mr. Harry McNeill Bland.*

Record file of approximately 40,000 glass and film negatives and 60,000 photographic prints of street views in Manhattan, Brooklyn, The Bronx, and Queens, 1901–35. *Gift of the Board of Transportation of the City of New York.*

Poster, one of two known copies, *c.* 1876, advertising facsimile copies of the *Ulster County Gazette* of January 4, 1800, obtainable from A. Phelps at the Bible House, New York City. *Gift of Dr. Clarence S. Brigham.*

Silver tankard by Myer Myers, and covered dish and plate made in Paris, 1786, which were used at Murray Hill, N.Y. *Gift of the Estate of Mrs. J. H. Ten Eyck Burr.*

Charter from King George III to the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Children of Clergymen in the Communion of the Church of England in America, September 29, 1769. *On permanent deposit from The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Children of Clergymen of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America.*

Miniatures of Unidentified Gentleman and Lady by James Peale, 1798; miniature of *Barbara Carrington* by Thomas Gibson, 1793; miniature of Unidentified Man, formerly identified as President John Tyler, by Unidentified Artist. *Gift of Mr. Charles E. Dunlap.*

Records of the Appleby, Mott and allied families from the Old House, Port Washington, N.Y., including: two Shepherd family Bibles; Quaker marriage certificate of Caleb W. Shepherd and Sarah M. Willets, 1879; six schoolbooks and five account books of Thomas Appleby, Jr.; 1,090 postcards; miscellaneous books, pamphlets, maps, and charts; Quaker wedding gown and bonnet worn in 1829 by Martha Whitson (1807–1883) at her marriage to Edmund R. Willets (1800–1875); slipware dish, hair curler, hat stretcher; tea caddy; four Belcek China bouillon cups;

wo vases made at Willets' Factory, Trenton, N. J., late 19th century. *Gift of Mr. Thomas Mott Fraser and Mrs. Cola G. (Martha Fraser) Parker, in memory of their mother, Mrs. Alfred Valentine (Martha Mott) Fraser.*

Two hundred and seventeen letters, 1794–1827, of the Hon. Albert Gallatin (1761–1849), principally to his wife, Hannah (Nicholson) Gallatin, to his brother-in-law, James W. Nicholson, and to his son, Albert R. Gallatin, collected and bound in three volumes, 1902, by Albert H. and A. E. Gallatin; nine volumes relating to Albert Gallatin. *Gift of Mr. Albert Eugene Gallatin.*

Rough minutes and agenda of meetings of the New York Board of Trade, 1878–1914, kept by Frank S. Gardner, donors' father. *Gift of Messrs. Saltus and Edward M. Gardner, and Misses Alice M. and Miriam D. Gardner.*

Manuscript Journal of Francis Goelet (1724–67), of New York and New Jersey, containing accounts of his voyages, 1746–58, illustrated with drawings and maps by him. *Gift of Mr. Robert Goelet.*

Miniature of Unidentified 18th-century Gentleman by Unidentified Artist; self-portrait of the artist, *William M. S. Doyle*, 1803; two silhouettes by August Edouart, of *President Millard Fillmore* and of *Pierre Lorillard; View of Port Jervis, N.Y.*, colored lithograph of Endicott & Co.; *View of the Portage Bridge* over the Genesee River near Rochester, N.Y., colored lithograph by Compton. *Gift of Mrs. Arthur H. Jones, in memory of her husband, Arthur A. Jones.*

Portraits of *Robert Livingston* (1708–1790), Third Lord of the Manor, and of his wife, *Mrs. Robert Livingston* (Maria Thong, 1711–1765), painted in 1764 by Thomas McIlworth; two unidentified portraits by an unidentified artist; portrait of *Gentleman of the Livingston Family* by C. B. J. F. de Saint-Mémin; *View of New Jersey* by James H. Cafferty; two landscapes; 108 manuscripts from the papers of Chancellor Robert R. Livingston, including documents and letters of John Adams, Aaron Burr, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, John Paul Jones, James Madison, James Monroe, George Washington, and others; nine portfolios of sketches, watercolors, lithographs, and photographs. *Gift of Mr. Goodhue Livingston.*

Painting of *Peter Stuyvesant and the Cobbler* by J. W. Ehninger, which was exhibited at the American Art Union in 1850. *Gift of Mr. Hugh W. Long.*

Mid-19th-century ice skates. *Gift of Col. Thatcher T. P. Luquer.*

Daybook of court cases, 1784–88, kept by Richard Varick. *Gift of Mr. Hall Park McCullough.*

Five volumes of records of the Round Table Dining Club, 1896–1940. *Gift of Mr. George W. Martin for the Round Table Dining Club.*

Self portrait with her sister, Mrs. Henry Hall Ward, and her nephew

by Ann Hall (1792–1863); miniature of *Nathaniel Platt Bailey* (1809–1891) by Henry Inman. *Gift of Mr. Lewis G. Morris.*

Portraits of *Unidentified Woman with Three Children*, *King William III*, and *Queen Mary II* by J. Cooper, *c.* 1714–18; silver caudle cup made in London, 1704/5; stoneware jug with silver mounts, marked 1641. *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Silver pitcher made by Gale & Hayden which was presented to Moses D. Burnet in 1848. *Gift of Mrs. John Burnet Nash.*

Minute Book of the Mary Powell Steamboat Company, 1898–1918; seven volumes of passenger reports and records of earnings of Hudson River Day Line boats, 1863–1941; 350 postcards and 250 circulars, timetables, and leaflets of the Hudson River Day Line, 1918–48. *Gift of Mr. Alfred Van Santvoord Olcott.*

Church and State in the United States, by Anson Phelps Stokes, D.D., in three volumes. *Gift of The Phelps-Stokes Fund.*

Portraits of *Dr.* and *Mrs. Samuel Carne* by Jeremiah Theus; portrait which has come down to us as of *Mrs. Clarke of Salem* by John Smibert; portraits of a *Gentleman* and *Lady*, possibly members of the Winslow family by Unidentified Artist; 17th-century New England dower chest. *Gift of Mr. Edmund Astley Prentis.*

Five deeds relating to The Protestant Episcopal Society for Promoting Religion and Learning in the State of New York, 1802, 1811, 1823, and 1839. *On permanent deposit from The Protestant Episcopal Society for Promoting Religion and Learning in the State of New York.*

Three hundred and ninety-four volumes of the *New York Daily Tribune* and the *New York Herald Tribune*, 1865–1940. *Gift of Mrs. Ogden Reid, President of the New York Herald Tribune, Inc.*

Wafer iron, fluting iron, and smoothing board from the family of Catherine Gaatje of Brooklyn, donor's mother; eight books and pamphlets; 11 prints. *Gift of Miss Edwiene Schmitt.*

Collection of booklets, menus, and photographs pertaining to the American Hotel Association, the New York Hotel Association, and The Tavern Club, 1919–28. *Gift of Mrs. George T. Stockham.*

Collection of letters relating to buttons and button collecting, including a blank membership certificate of the American Buttonists Society, and 140 letters to and from Col. Daniel Stevens, first President of that Society, Edgar Nye Williams, donor's uncle, William L. Calver, Vice-President of the Society, and others. *Gift of Mr. Hermann W. Williams, Jr.*

Holograph letter of Horatio Nelson, then Captain of the *Albemarle*, dated November 13, 1782, telling of having been presented to Prince William Henry on board the flagship, *Barfleur; Life of Edward Livingston* by Charles H. Hunt, extra-illustrated and expanded to three volumes by T. H. Morrell. *Gift of Mr. George A. Zabriskie.*